

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 5

COMPRISING

THE EXPEDITIONS OF CAPTAIN JOHN LOVE-
WELL AND HIS ENCOUNTERS WITH THE

INDIANS - - - - - *Frederick Kidder*

ACCOUNT OF LOVEWELL'S EXPEDITIONS,

Samuel Penhallow

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, THE INDIAN FIGHTER,

AT PIGWACKET - - - *George W. Chamberlain, B. S.*

WILLIAM ABBATT

141 EAST 25TH STREET,

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NEW YORK

1909

(As near a *fac-simile* of the original as possible.)

Historical Memoirs
Of the Late Fight at
Higgwacket,
WITH A
S E R M O N

Occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave
Capt. John Lovewell
And Several of his Valiant Company,
IN THE LATE
Heroic Action there.
Pronounc'd at *Bradford, May, 16. 1725.*

By THOMAS SYMMES, V. D. M.

The Second Edition Corrected.

Ifa. 3. 25. *Thy Men fhall fall by the Sword, and thy
Mighty in the War.*

BOSTON in *New England*:
Printed by *B. Green Jun.* for *S. Gerrish*, near the
Brick Meeting-Houfe in Cornhill. 1725.

The Brave *Lovewell*,
And fveral of his Company,
LAMENTED.

II. Sam. 1, 27. *How are the Mighty Fallen, and the Weapons of War Perished!*

THE book before us is entitled *The Second of Samuel*, not, that it was written by the famous prophet of that name; (for it contains an history of what came to pass, after his death; of which we've an account in the beginning of the XXV. Chap. of the former book) but the latter part of the former, with the whole of this book, is supposed to be written by Nathan or Gad; or by Hezekiah or Ezra. And probably it's call'd, *The Second of Samuel*, by the Hebrews, because it's a continuation of the history began by him; and so, being a supplement to the history of Samuel, it goes under his name; as is usual in such cases now a days.

In the chapter before us, we've a very celebrated elegy; of which our text is the conclusion. And here we may observe: (1) Who was the author of this elegy, or funeral poem; namely, *David*. Agreeably it's termed in our psalm-book, *David's Elegy*. The sweet psalmist of Israel was a poet, as well as a musician; and has given us a noble specimen of his admirable poetick genius, in the mournful poem before us. But we're to consider him here, not only as a finished poet, but as an eminent servant of God, even the man after God's own heart: who duely considering the works of the Lord, and regarding the operations of His hands, has set us a very bright example, how to behave upon, and what

improvement to make of, the death of useful men; especially of such, as not only have jeopardized their lives unto the death, but nobly land down their lives, in the high places of the field, in the service of their king & country: *David* lamented with this lamentation:

(2) Observe the subject & occasion of this elegy; viz. The death of Saul and Jonathan; who with many of their army fell down slain upon Mount Gilboa, 1 Sam. 31. 1, 2, 3. Tidings of this slaughter being bro't to David, he was greatly affected therewith, and (as was customary amongst the Hebrews on such sorrowful occasions) David took hold on his clothes and rent them, and likewise all the men that were with him. And they mourned and wept and fasted until even, for Saul and for Jonathan his son, and for the people of the Lord, and for the house of Israel; because they were fallen by the sword. Context 11, 12. ver. And having done justice on the young Amalekite, that bro't the news, who by his own confession had stretched forth his hand to slay the Lord's anointed; he gave further vent to his grief, in the elegant composition before us.

(3) Observe the matter and substance of this elegy: or what David said on this great occasion. And first, he utters this mournful assertion, "The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places!" ver. 19. Expert soldiers are no inconsiderable part of the beauty of Israel. Then follows a very pathological exclamation, which is thrice repeated, v. 19. 25, 27. and this is the burthen of the song, "How are the mighty fallen!" We have then his poetical wish, with the reason of it, that the tragical news might not be published, v. 20. "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon: lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoyce, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph." The imperative mood is used in the beginning of the verse for the optative, after the manner of passionate mourners, who often wish for things impossible. And by this form of speech David rather expresses his detestation of what was done, then forbids the doing of it: *q. d.* O that this Doleful story had never been told in Gath! for so it surely was, 1 Sam. 31. 8, 9, 10. "And it came to pass on the morrow, when

the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his three sons fallen on Mount Gilboa. And they cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to publish it in the house of their idols, and among the people. And they put his armour in the House of Ashtaroth: and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan." We have next David's imprecation, on the place of the defeat with the reason of it, v. 21. "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings: for there the shield of the Mighty is vilely cast away." Some think this only a figurative speech, supposing the very heavens and earth had a kind of sense and feeling of this calamity: others think it a prophetic curse, that took effect accordingly, even as our Saviour's denounc'd on the barren fig-tree.¹ But this is confuted by Brochard & others, that have been upon the place. We may therefore look upon it, as only a hyperbolical poetical imprecation.

David then goes on to commend Saul and Jonathan, for their wonderful success at arms, v. 22. "From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back, and the sword of Saul returned not empty." They were wont to be victorious over their stoutest enemies. And that it's otherwise now, and that these valiant men are fallen, argues that God is angry; which should awaken his people to repentance. He further celebrates (as, their affection to one another and union in death, v. 23. so,) their agility and courage. "They were swifter than eagles, they were bolder than lions." They were swift and nimble to pursue their enemies, and to avoid danger; and strong and valiant to resist and overcome such as dare oppose them. Briefly, he commends Saul for his royal bounty to the daughters of Israel, whom he calls upon to lament him, v. 24. "Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel." Even the daughters of Israel had been wont to bear their part in Saul's triumphs, and now it became them to mourn his fall. As all share

¹ Dr. Willet *in loc* & Peter Martyr, *quoted by him*. *Poli Critica*.

in common calamities; so all should be suitably affected therewith.

Finally, David particularly laments over Jonathan, professing his deep distress for him: the dear affection between them, and the pleasure he took in his conversation, v. 25, 26. "O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thy high places. I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of Women," who are commonly most affectionate.

(4) Observe some of the properties of this elegy. And, first, it is extremely fine and elegant. The ideas are very bright, and well adapted: the phrases are very expressive and emphatical, and hence the whole poem is very moving and pathetical. And particularly, where he speaks of his friend Jonathan, nothing can be more soft and tender, and express'd with a greater pathos. And what more passionate than his repeated exclamation? "How are the mighty fallen!" Those valiant and renowned commanders, Saul and Jonathan, with their brave and undaunted soldiers, that fell with them. So that the "Weapons of war are perished," *i. e.* those that wielded them are dead. And what will weapons do, without men of skill and courage to handle them, for their countrie's preservation and defence, and the suppression and extirpation of their enemies?

Again, the whole poem is sufficiently brave and manly. David shows himself a man of a great soul, now, that Saul's day was to come to die, & God had delivered him out of his hands; and Saul could now no longer persecute and hunt him as a partridge on the mountains, as he'd a long while done (for as in the grave the weary servants of God, are at rest, so, blessed be God! when the wicked are lodg'd there, they cease from troubling) I say tho' David was now delivered, he scorns to trample with insulting feet on the monument of the dead, and crow over a breathless corpse; but buries all the faults of Saul in perpetual oblivion, in the land of forgetfulness, lays aside all spleen, and heartily mourns his countrie's reproach and loss, tho' the very means of his own deliverance and advancement, (a noble instance of public spiritedness)

and commemorates what was commendable, even in Saul. For, *de mortuis, nil nisi bonum*. None that are men after God's own heart, will unnecessarily rip up the faults of others; and speak evil of those that can't speak for themselves. Those that are not thus tender of the reputation of others, may justly fear that others will be as free with them, when they are silent in the grave.

But then, it's also a martial poem, 'tis written with a martial air. The subject is entirely military. He laments his heroes, considered in their military character. He celebrates their military accomplishments and achievements. And he dedicates it to the militia of Judah, as in the parenthesis in the preface, 18 v. "also he bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the Bow": Whence it's evident, that David in the midst of his mourning, is not unmindful of what was necessary for the good of the commonwealth: Teaching us, not to be so overcome with grief, on such sorrowful occasions, as to forget our duty and neglect means for our own or our countrie's safety.

Furthermore, this elegy is very ancient. 'Twas written about eight and twenty hundred years ago. And according to some chronologies, before the famous Iliads of Homer, who was the very father of all the heathen poets, and said to be born in the reign of Solomon, the son of David.¹ It is then one of the first born of elegies, and venerable for its antiquity. It's said to be recorded in the Book of Jasher, which is tho't to be a general chronicle of the acts of the Jewish nation:² and call'd Jeshar, i. e., the Just, or Upright. We read of it Josh. 10. 13. It's supposed this book was continued from age to age, as a collection of state poems, (say some) or of the memorable acts of God's worthies, and tho' laid up at length in the Temple (as Josephus reports) yet being not Canonical, is now lost.

Finally, to remark no more characters in this poem, it's a Scripture-elegy, for tho' we don't suppose it at first written by inspiration; yet being agreeable to the Will of God, was adopted (if I may so express it) by the Holy Spirit, who inspired those that in-

¹*Ductor Historicus.*

²*Dr. Willet in loc. & alii.*

served it in the sacred pages, so that it is now a part of Canonical Scripture. And thus it's probable the penman of the chronicles collected many things out of the Book of Jasher, being guided therein by the unerring spirit of God. And tho' the name of God it not to be found in this elegy, yet it is consonant to religion, and approved by God; and we hence learn, that what is spoken or written by the servants of God may be very agreeable to the Will of God and for His glory, tho' the name of God or Christ is not to be found therein. Thus the Book of Esther wherein are no less than ten chapters, has not the name of God in it.

(5) Observe the main scope and design of this elegy. And there are two things more especially that David had in view, after the glory of God, his ultimate end. First, to perpetuate the memory of Saul, and his dearly beloved Jonathan, his bosom friend. Great indeed was the love between Damon and Pythias; for when Dionysius the tyrant, had on some occasion, signifi'd his resolution, that one of them should die; and permitted Damon to go home and settle his affairs before his death, provided he could find one to be surety for his return; Pythias forewith offered voluntarily, and put himself in the tyrant's power. Damon coming back precisely at the time appointed, Dionysius did so much admire their mutual fidelity, that he pardon'd both, & pray'd that he might be admitted the third into their friendship.³ But the love of David and Jonathan was more divine and excellent, than that of these brave heathen philosophers. We've the account of it's commencement, 1 Sam. 18. begin. "And it came to pass when he [David] had made an end of speaking to Saul, that the Soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him, as his own soul. And Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house. Then Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul. And Jonathan stript himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments even to his sword and to his bow, and to his girdle." For such a friend one would even dare to die. To be sure, David would have the memory of this just

³ *Collier's Dictionary.*

man blessed. He would have him had in everlasting remembrance. And he here does his part, that it might be so, and the event was agreeable to his pious desire, for wherever the Bible is enjoyed, this elegy is still to be found on record for a memorial of him.

But then David had a further reach than barely to embalm the name of his friend, and perpetuate the remembrance of Saul, for his relation to Jonathan and to his country: For, by this elegy, or funeral song, David design'd to fire the ambition of his contemporaries & successors, to seek to excel in chivalry; and to fire them also with zeal to prosecute the war against the barbarous Philistines, and to avenge the death of their sovereign, and several of the royal family, and many other gallant soldiers; and to defend themselves, against their insults and depredations. Agreeably in the parenthesis before mentioned, v. 18. "He bade them teach the Children of Judah the use of the Bow"—the best interpretation of which the passage (says Junius) is, that it expresses the design of David, that this song, being put into the hands of Judah, it might serve to excite and provoke them to addict themselves to martial exercises, and to acquire skill in the use of the bow, which is here put for all warlike weapons then in fashion. And may the same use be made of the discourse, you are now reading, to provoke all among us, of a military character, to inure themselves to the use of the gun, and all such exercises as may accomplish them for service in the doleful war, we're unhappily involved in.

Having, observed these things in general in this elegy, I come now to remark from the conclusion of it:

That the fall of brave and successful warriors in the field of battle, is very much to be lamented by the people of God, in whose immediate service they lost their lives. We should lament over them with this lamentation, "How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!"

First, it is sometimes the lot of the bravest warriors, and of such as have been very successful, to fall at last, or to be slain in the

field of battle. Saul had been a brave warrior and did worthily in the beginning of his reign. The history of his deliverance of Jabesh-Gilead when Nahash the Ammonite came up & encamped against it, is very noble and brave, 1 Sam. 11. begin. He discover'd both great courage and conduct in that whole action, at the 11th. we read, "Saul put the people in three companies, and they came into the midst of the host in the morning watch, and slew the Ammonites, until the heat of the day: and it came to pass that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together." Thus he effectually raised the siege of poor Jabesh-Gilead, and delivered the city. And when some hot-headed people proposed to Samuel, that the male-contents should be put to death, who had said, "shall Saul reign over us?" Saul very generously suppress'd the motion, and snub'd those that too officiously propos'd it; saying, "There shall not a man be put to death this day!" And as he was once returning from the slaughter of the Philistines, the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of musick; and the women answered one to another as they played, and said, "Saul hath slain his thousands." We read also of Jonathan, that "he smote the garrison of the Philistines that was in Geba," 1 Sam. 13. 3. And in the beginning of the 14 chapter, we're inform'd how Jonathan and his armour bearer, did miraculously smite the Philistines. And in the context, ver. 22. David gives 'em this encomium, "From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back, and the sword of Saul returned not empty." And he calls them, "the mighty," and "the flower or beauty of Israel." Now, these brave, successful soldiers, were slain in battle at last, upon Mount Gilboa.

And (not to mention any other instance) thus: "Gustavus Adolphus, stiled 'the Great King of Sweden,' who took for his motto, 'If God be for us, who can be against us'—and who was an incomparable warrior, venturous sometimes, even without necessity; and especially in war would neglect his life and perform rather the duty of a soldier than of a general; and to excuse himself would say, 'that armies slight the danger they share in with

their king; and that if Generals don't act in person they can never atchieve a glittering reputation: And that such as shun death, meet it oftener than they that seek it: That Julius Cæsar was never wounded in batt'le, tho' he ever fought in the foremost ranks of his troops: and that Alexander the Great, mark'd out the way with his own blood, that led him to the Empire of the East; and that to be as famous as these great men, he ought to be no more timorous than they: this great man, after he'd obtained divers victories over the Danes & Poles & Muscovites, and received thirteen wounds before those of which he died, was at length slain in a battle with the Germans, having first almost got the victory, which his army compleated after his death. And thus the Great Gustavus died, in the 38th year of his age, Anno Domi. 1632, whilst victory (as one expresses it) lay bleeding by his side."⁴

Secondly, the fall of brave and successful soldiers is very much to be lamented by the People of God, especially by those in whose immediate service they sacrificed their lives. For,

First, This is very decent and becoming the people of God. There's a time to weep, as well as a time to laugh. And everything is beautiful in it's season. Now when brave and successful soldiers are slain in battle, who have been improv'd by Providence as instruments of checking the pride and insolence, and weakening the force, and thinning the number, and discouraging the hearts of the enemies of God's people; and of preserving the lives, liberties and properties of the Israel of God: and might if God had spared them, been a further scourge to the enemy, and defence to the people of God, by contending with the enemy in battle. It's very proper and highly reasonable, such especially in whose immediate service they've courageously ventur'd and undauntedly laid down their lives, should lament their death. And the contrary, is, how indecent? how sottish? how stupid and unreasonable? "Now whatsoever things are lovely, decorous, and of good report, Christians should love and practice these things," Phil. 4. 8. The civiliz'd heathen will rise up in judgment against Christians, yea

⁴*Collier's Dict. Clark's Lives.*

and the barbarous also, if they don't do such deserving persons the honour of lamenting their untimely death. It's humane and manly to do so: but the contrary is indeed inhumane, and worse than heathenish.

Secondly, It is just and equal, for the people of God to lament the death of brave and successful soldiers slain by the enemies, and in their service. Tears and proper lamentations are a debt we owe them. They've dearly merited this piece of respect from their people.⁵ And surely if they deserv'd the applause and commendation of all while they liv'd; they ought to be honour'd with the lamentations of all when they're slain in the high places of the field. And the law of equity calls for it. Surely 'tis to do as we would be done by; or, as we should desire any of our dear relatives should be treated in like circumstances. If it had been the lot of any very nearly related to us (and it has been so⁶) to be slain in battle, or sea-fight, playing the man for their people, and for the cities of their God; surely a due notice taken of their death, by the people of God, would be what we should expect and be pleased with. Now whatever we would that men should do to us, we should do the same to them, or, we transgress a Golden Rule. But if this rule be out of fashion with any; yet

Thirdly, Agreeable lamentations for expert and successful soldiers slain in war, are very useful and advantageous. It's a comfort to their bereaved relatives when they observe that the people of God, do greatly bewail the death of their friends, and heartily sympathize with them, tho' their loss may possibly be in some respects irreparable; yet this should and will contribute not a little, to alleviate their sorrow, ease their distressed minds, and dry up their tears.

And then, it's a spur to virtue. When surviving soldiers (and particularly such as have been eye-witnesses of the fall of their brethren, and fought with uncommon bravery, and were either wounded, or, equally exposed in the same battle, with those that

⁵ *It's but just, to shed Tears for them, that have shed their Heart's Blood for us.*

⁶ *Capt. Ayer's of Haverhill; and Mr. Edward Carleton of Bradford, with sundry others. Aug. 29 1708 and the Authors Grandfather, and Uncle Graves in the Dutch War.*

are slain) take notice that the death of their officers or fellow-soldiers, is deeply resented by the people of God, that they still speak of them with great honour in their lamentations, this will animate them, we hope, to do worthily, and rather die with honour, if call'd to battle, than live with disgrace; and for their cowardice, have the offer of a wooden sword, to be branded with the infamous character of a coward, even by the weaker sex.

Whereas, on the other hand, it's a great aggravation of the affliction of distressed mourners, when they observe that the generality, only give the news of their friends death, the hearing, but seem as stoical and unconcern'd about it, as if their lives were of no value, and their death what does no way concern them. Such ingratitude and inhumanity is very exercising to ingenious minds and such as have any sense of honour. Besides such a sordid insensibleness, is very discouraging to our brave soldiers. Who would be willing to venture their lives for such ungrateful people!

Finally, It's pious and Scriptural to bewail the death of such brave and successful soldiers, whose lot it is, to be slain at last in the field of battle. God expects we should lay to heart the death of all our fellow creatures, "That is the end of all men, and the living will lay it to his heart," Eccl. 7. 2. And particularly, we'r oblidg'd to Lament the Death of Eminently useful Men, tho' they die quietly in their beds; and come to their graves in a good old age, like as a shock of corn comes in, in it's season. How much more should we mourn their loss, when slain in battle, in the midst of their days, or in the very flower of their age, while their breasts were full of milk, and their bones were moistened with marrow. It's a sore judgment when God suffers such to fall by, and into the hand of the enemy; and does not cover their heads in the day of battle. This is an awful Frown and argues the great displeasure of God. Hence He threatened the men of Anathoth, that said to the Prophet Jeremy, Prophesy not in the name of the Lord, that their young men should die by the sword, Jer. 11. 21, 22. and a like threatening he denounc'd against Moab, Jer 48, 15—"His chosen young men are gone down to the slaughter," saith the King, whose name is the Lord of Hosts." And

when the wrath of the Lord was risen against Israel, for their measure-filling sin, in mocking the Lord's messengers, despising his words and misusing his prophets, it's said, 2 Chron. 36. 17. "Therefore he brought upon them, the King of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword." Now what greater cause of mourning and lamentation than the manifestations of God's displeasure? If the lion roar who will not tremble? but alas, who can stand when God is angry! And he highly resents it, when his people are insensible under the tokens of his holy anger: if they cry not, when he corrects them. He says to such, "why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more." Isa. 1. 5. and again, "they are not humbled into this day," Jer. 44. 10.

Besides, We've many Scripture precepts and examples, that teach us to lament, on the occasion under consideration. When God threaten'd Israel, by the weeping prophet, "that a people should come from the north country, that should lay hold on bow and spear, being cruel, and having no mercy": Jer. 6. 22, 23. It's added, ver. 26. "O dau'ter of my people gird thee with sackcloth, and wallow thyself in ashes: make thee mourning as for an only son most bitter lamentation;—surely then, there should be a proportionable lamentation, when several chosen young men, and some very promising and hopeful, are actually slain by men of the Chaldean character." Another instance we have, Jer. 9, 17.—"Consider ye and call for the mourning women.—Let them make haste—that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with waters—and teach your dau'ters wailing and every one her neighbours lamentation. For Death is come up,—to cut off the young men from the streets. And even the carcasses of men shall fall as dung upon the open field—and none shall gather or, bury them." This evinces, that God calls to mourning when young men fall by the sword, & the mighty in the battle. And then to mention no other Scriptures, our text and context is a full & direct proof of our doctrine. For, as was observ'd before, this mournful song was David's lamentation over those that were slain by the Philistines on Mount Gilboa.

But I proceed to the application. And,

First, If it's sometimes the lot of the most valiant and successful soldiers, to be slain at last in battle; then they that gird on the harness should not boast as they that put it off. This was well observ'd by Ahab to Benhadad king of Syria, I. Kings 20. 11. All such preposterous boasting is evil; very foolish and ominous, and commonly followed with fatal consequents. Boasting Benhadad had cause and leisure in his inner chamber to think of this wise caution, when he had seen his army miserably broken a first time, & slain with a great slaughter by a company of striplings, under the command of Ahab their king; and a second time totally routed; an hundred thousand footmen being slain in one day by the Israelites; and twenty-seven thousand more by the falling of a wall upon them; and he reduced to such abject circumstances, as to beg quarter by his ambassadors with sackcloth on their loyns and ropes on their heads. How was the scene now changed, & his tune turn'd, I Kin. 20. And thus we find the swaggering Goliath, who defi'd the armies of the living God, one minute cursing David by his Gods, and disdainfully saying, "Come to me and I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field;" and the next minute tumbling headlong with his face upon the earth: and the beauty of Israel cutting off his head with his own sword, I Sam. 17. 1,—51.

God allows us indeed, in our spiritual warfare, (and in extraordinary cases, as, in David's answering the challenge of the giant, in a carnal warfare also) to triumph before the battle and to say, "Thanks be unto God, that giveth us the victory, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ." For, in all these things we are more than conquerors thro' the Captain of our Salvation, whose is the victory, and who hath loved us, and will give it to us!

But without particular revelation, not now to be expected, none can tell, whether the many, or the few; the strong or the weak; the righteous or the wicked; the friend or enemy will get the day in the field of battle. Boasting then, upon the going forth of armies, is to be condemned; both in such as go forth to war and in such as tarry at home, on their account.

Secondly, The most skilful, dextrous, couragious and success-

ful soldiers had need to be truly religious and well prepared for death; seeing they'r not invulnerable, but as liable to die as others. An Indian bullet will kill a hero, a champion, as easily as a faint-hearted coward: a captain, or chaplain, as soon as a bringer up of the front half-files; or the most inferiour private soldier. There must indeed be the swiftness of the eagle, the subtility of the fox, the strength and boldness of the lion, as well as the grace of the Christian, to constitute a brave soldier; and every devout Christian, that's fit for Heaven, is not most fit to go forth to war. But, tho' such as are destitute of grace may possibly be stout soldiers and noble commanders, and deserve well of their prince and country; and in answer to the prayers of God's people, in whose cause they'r employ'd, they may fight valiantly, and play the man for their people, and tread down the enemy; yet if they'r slain, they cannot groundedly expect salvation. Seeing then our soldiers carry their lives in their hands, when they go forth to war, and are still liable to be ambushed, where'er they travel in the vast howling wilderness, and kill'd unexpectedly, as well as slain in a pitch'd battle; they'd need be always ready not only to fight, but to die and make their appearance before God. And in order thereto, they should now believe in Christ and repent of all their sins, and so get into, and keep in good terms with God, who can easily preserve them, tho' a thousand fall at their side, and ten thousand at their right hand: and can cause one of them to chase a thousand, and two, to put ten thousand to flight.

The wretched Jesuits or Friars are wont ('tis said) to absolve their deluded proselytes, the barbarous Indians, when they come forth to war against us: & flatter 'em with the promise of an immediate passage to Paradise, without any stop at Purgatory, if they fall in battle: And these delusive hopes may possibly animate them to fight with great fury in their engagements with us. And many private soldiers & inferiour officers in the campaigns in Christendom, merely from the prospect of applause, promotion, or filthy lucre; or from thirst after revenge and a vain opinion that fighting in a good cause, and on the right side, they shall surely be happy in the next world, if they'r kill'd in battle, have possibly been led on to fight with undaunted resolution and the utmost

intrepidity. Surely then the motives of pure religion, such as serving God and their country; having God to go before them, and fight for them, and either to cover their heads, or, receive their departing souls to the blessed mansions above, where there is no adversary nor evil occurrent, where they shall rest from their labors and their works shall follow them, must needs be sufficient, by the influence of the Holy Spirit that dwelleth in all real Christians, to cause them to wax valiant in fight, and to raise them above the fear of what earth or hell can do unto them.

So then, a well grounded perswasion of a part in Christ, and an interest in the favour of God, is what all that go forth to war, would do wisely to give all diligence to obtain.

Thirdly, since the best of soldiers are liable to be overcome and slain in war, it ill becomes the people of God to put their trust in man. Tho' it's their duty and wisdom to employ and encourage expert soldiers: yet it's their sin and folly to trust in them. As it's idolatry for soldiers to trust in their arms, or in their dexterity and courage to handle them; or in one another: so it's idolatry for the people of God, in whose service they go forth to trust in them. For alas! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, and wherein is he to be accounted of? His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his dust; in that very day, all his projections and resolutions and accomplishments for war, perish!

Surely then, it's the greatest folly, for a people to trust in their forces, how well soever qualified, spirited and equipp'd: and how successful soever they have been. For, every creature is that to us that God makes it to be; and unless God gave help, vain is the help of man, Jer. 3. 23. Truly in vain is Salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains; truly in the Lord our God is the Salvation of Israel. And we know who has said, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm—but blessed is the man, that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is, Jer. 17. 5,—7. Agreeably we find the people of God, resolving in the name of our God we will set up our banners. And whilst some trust in chariots and some in horses, we will remember the name of the Lord our God, Psal. 20. 5,—7.

And again, Thro' thee we will push down our enemies: thro' thy name we will tread them under that rise up against us, Psal. 40. 5. and Psal. 60. 12. Thro' God we shall do valiantly, for He it is, that shall tread down our enemies.

Men may fail us, be overcome, and utterly frustrate our expectations: but, if we trust in God, we may pray with Asa, when Zerah the Ethiopian came against him with an host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots; Lord, (said he) it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. O Lord thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee. The Lord of Hosts is immortal, and Invincible; He has all creatures at His command, and can cause the stars in their courses to fight against the enemies of His people; and sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. In a word, whatsoever the Lord pleaseth that he doth; it is therefore better to trust in Him, than to put confidence in man, Psal. 118. 8.

Fourthly, Are the bravest and most successful soldiers liable to fall in battle, such then as are preserv'd in military expeditions and engagements, and safely return'd to their families and friends, are oblig'd to study what they shall render to the Lord, and take heed, they don't forget his benefits, but that all their days they perform their vows. It is the Lord that has covered their heads in the battle; it is the Lord that redeemed their lives from destruction, when those, no more expos'd than they, are fallen, and gone down to the grave and shall come up no more, and return to their houses no more. O that all such as have experienc'd the destinguishing favour of Heaven would praise Him for His goodness, and not content themselves to desire thanks to be return'd for them in the public assemblies of God's people, tho' that is commendable, but that they would endeavour to live the praises of God. It's very displeasing to God, when his people don't render to Him according to His benifits, 2 Chron. 32. 25. David celebrates the praises of God, for preservation and success in war, Psal. 18. & Psal. 144. begin.

Fifthly, Hence the people of God ought to ascribe to Him the glory of all their success in war. His is the victory & he gives it to whomsoever he will. He furnishes men with military skill & courage: teaches their hands to war and their fingers to fight. He finds out the enemy for his people, & gives a presence of mind to their forces; and if they are not swallow'd up quick, when men vastly superiour in number, and other advantages rise up against them, it's because the Lord is on their side, Psal. 124. Again, we find Deborah and Barak giving glory to God, for avenging his people in the defeat of Sisera & his host, Judg. 5. and how often is David, the famous warrior of Israel, harping on this string, as we noted before.

God resents it, when His people sacrifice to their own net, & burn incense to their own drag: when they ascribe that to instruments that is due to God alone. This no doubt often provokes God to deprive a people of their chosen soldiers. For He is a very jealous God, and will not give his glory to another. And, as the former pastor of this church would say of ministers, we may say of soldiers, people kill them in two ways: either, by ascribing too much or too little to them: idolizing of them, or detracting from them, and despising of them.

Finally, let us all religiously lament the fall of the brave Lovewell, and several of his gallant company, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Let us take up this lamentation over them, How are the mighty fallen! And if we would herein approve our selves to God, let us consider that these brave men (tho' I hope, we've many left as capable of serving their country, yet they) were no inconsiderable part of the beauty and strength of New England. Indeed, being wholly a stranger to most of them, I can't pretend to give their character; yet it's evident to the country, they were men form'd and rais'd up by Providence to serve us in pursuing an enemy, of whom we may say as of the wild ass, The wilderness yieldeth food for them and for their children, Job 24. 5.

These our worthy friends could endure hardness as good soldiers: and were well able to encounter the fatigues of long marches.

both in winter and summer. Some of them were well acquainted with the woods, & with the customs and lurking places of the enemy, & were mightily spirited to pursue them, & God did graciously preserve & prosper them this last winter in two expeditions, first, delivering two Indians into their hands, & then ten stout fellows as you all remember, whom they kill'd, without receiving any harm from them. This was the Lord's doings and marvellous in our eyes! And in this last engagement, they were inspir'd with a great deal of bravery and good conduct, & their company crown'd with wonderful success. Now to lose such experienc'd soldiers, and men so respected in the country, is a great loss.

Again, let us consider, that this is the finger of God. Let not any say prophanely and atheistically, "It's the fortune of war": or, as a good man said on a bad occasion, "The sword devoureth one as well as another;" 2 Sam. 11. 25. For tho' it's true the battle is not to the strong, and time and chance happens to all men, yet the hand of the Lord is herein gone out against us, & there are tokens of his displeasure to be seen in this affair. That this brave company, should be so weakened by leaving so great a number with one that fell ill, & that at so great a distance from them. That one of the company should so unhappily leave them in the beginning of the fight, & bring such news to those left behind, that occasioned their immediate return; when their continuance there, might have been such an unspeakable advantage to those that survived the battle. And indeed, it appears a frown, that they should venture so far with so small a number at that season of the year, when the enemy are capable of better subsisting in bodies, than in the winter season. I say, the hand of the Lord appears in all this, that so many brave men should descend into battle and perish.

But then, we'r also to consider. "Why the Lord's anger against us is not turned away; but His hand is stretched out still." Have not our sins as really slain our magnanimous soldiers, as ever, David slew Uriah the Hittite by the sword of the children of Ammon? And should we not bear the rod, and him that hath appointed it: and consider in this day of adversity, what we have done; and humble our selves & pray and seek God's face? Thus

did David and his men as in the context. And the men of Jabesh Gilead, 1 Sam. *ult.*

Should we not endeavour to find out & put away the accursed thing from the midst of us? and turn to him that smites us? Should we not be awaken'd by such Providences to get our peace made with God, & engage and secure His gracious preference with us, under our present dark views?

How many calls have New England had, from the pulpit, and by the press also, from year to year; to remember whence we are fallen and repent & do our first works! How many election-sermons have been published amongst us, fill'd with solemn warnings, most earnest exhortations & ample testimonies for God, and against the provoking evils of the land! But alas, how many are still acting the part of the deaf adder, or as the prophet expresses it, "They refuse to hearken, they pull away the shoulder & stop the ear that they should not hear," Zech. 7. 11. How many hate to be reformed? Yea hate to be told by those that have good right, full power, & lawful authority to do it, wherein we should be, and what's to be done that we may be a reformed people. How sad is it, if all the notice taken by the generality of people, of the solemn messages sent to them from the Lord God of their fathers, is only to give them the hearing, and either humm or hiss the preacher & his performance, pretty much as they stand affected to him; and it may be, with some considerable formality, give him thanks for his sermon (and then he comes off mighty well!) However if they carry the matter so far as to print the sermon, yet perhaps they don't put it in practice! But now, dont they deceive themselves that hear, & read God's word, but do it not? Or, what meaneth that saying, Jam. 1. 22.

Furthermore, by the sore judgment of war, and particularly by the fall of our brethren, we are now weeping over, God is loudly calling on us to amend our ways & doings. And God expects that we should all in our places endeavour a reformation that we should do our part in this work: and if we do so, whatever be the event, God will set a mark upon us, and our labour shall not be in vain

in the Lord. Let not any then be discouraged, because some proper essays and noble efforts have miscarried and prov'd abortive. Necessity is laid upon us: New England must reform, or without a spirit of prophecy, any one that observes the signs of the times, may I think evidently foresee, that in one twenty years more, the glory of New-England as New-England, will be much more than hitherto, if not totally eclipsed. God in His infinite, sovereign, mercy prevent it!

But then, our soldiers that are fit to go forth to war, & may probably be call'd forth, you my brethren in an especial manner are obliged to take the alarm given you by the late intelligence. Be prevail'd with if you han't yet done so, to cast away the weapons of your rebellion against Heaven, (for there's no making peace sword in hand) and come as with ropes about your necks, and lie in the dust, if there may be hope; and there is hope in Israel concerning you. Now's your time to make ready for death. You'll have other work to do, when engaged in battle. And besides, every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rol'd in blood: hearing the hideous yellings and ejulations of the enemy, and the groanings of deadly wounded men, & seeing them lie all bath'd in their gore, may waken you to cry to God and make your vows: but alas that's no time for consideration & confession, & deliberate resolution to forsake sin & return to God. This should be done now! And then as you should be excited by this awakening Providence to yield yourselves to the Lord; to make haste and not delay to believe in Christ & secure an interest in Him: so, you should be prevail'd with to see that you've good arms and kept in good order, with good store of ammunition, & inure yourselves to military exercises especially to the art of shooting & be always ready that you may issue out at an hours warning, if occasion be: and not live careless & secure, after the manner of the Zidonians.

And if you'r truly religious, & thus equipp'd for & train'd to war, & God call you forth, He can easily, and we hope will, preserve & prosper you. He can make you swifter than eagles, stronger and more couragious than lions, as David elegantly de-

scribes his heroes, and you need not fear all the Indians in America. For if you fall in battle, your death is brave, you die in the bed of honour, and your rest will be glorious. It well becomes a soldier to die fighting, a minister preaching, & an emperour standing. But commonly such soldiers may take *Cæsar's* motto, *Veni, Vidi; Vici*, I came, I saw, I overcame,

Again, if we'd religiously lament on this occasion, we must not be disheartened & cast down, because a crew of salvages have kill'd a few brave men. No, verily! it's beneath a man, much more a Christian, whose heart is fixed trusting in the Lord, to be thus affected with such evil tidings. Such news should not daunt and terrify a soldier, but whet his courage, and make his blood boil in his veins, and especially, it should rouse 'em on such occasions, to rally forth and come to march with utmost expedition, to recover if possible, our dear brethren that lie wounded, and without relief in a howling wilderness. That they mayn't perish with famine, or fall into the hands of a barbarous enemy, to be kill'd over again, & tortur'd with Indian cruelty. And also to give Christian burial to the remains of our departed heroes. How brave was it in the men of Jabesh-Gilead, what an instance of gratitude and true valour that we find recorded to their immortal honour and our instruction, 1 Sam. 31. 11,—And when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard of that which the Philistines had done to Saul: all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they took their bones and buried them under a tree at Jabesh,—Methinks the reading those words without a comment, would fill a soldier with zeal sufficient to carry him with a sufficient number as far as Pig-wacket, only to cover the dust, the valuable dust, of our gallant soldiers, that there kept the field; lest the Dau'ters of the uncircumcised rejoyce.

Again, We should amidst our Lamentations, be much in Prayer to God. If we would have Israel prevail, we must keep up, as well as lift up the hand of prayer. If our soldiers would constitute, a thundring, they must be a praying legion. And we that

tarry at home must get into the mount and pray for 'em. A good woman in her closet, (tho' she's afraid to take a gun in her hand) may serve her country to very good purpose, even in respect of the war; as really, as the magistrate at the council board; or the most daring and well advis'd commander in the open field in a thro' engagement. For prayer and faith always were, are, and will be the churches' best weapons.

Once more, while we lament our own and countries loss, we should not forget to sympathize with the distressed relatives: the widow and the orphan, & such as mourn for an only son, or other near relations. They are greatly to be pittied, and their case remembred in our devotions. We should pray for them, that God would give them songs in the night, & say unto them weep not! That he would comfort those that are cast down, would afford 'em divine consolations that are not small, & refresh their spirits, in the multitude of their perplexed tho'ts within them. That he would give them patience to submit to his holy will, to bear his indignation, to hold their peace & be still, knowing that he is God, who gives none account of his matters.—And that he would be a God to the widow, a father to the poor fatherless children: and better than ten sons to disconsolate parents.

Briefly, while we lament our case is so sad, let us be very thankful it is no worse, that it is so well. That we've such abundant cause to sing of mercy as well as judgment. For tho' we've lost some brave men, (and have cause to mourn on that score) yet it's probable the enemy have lost more than treble the number, & amongst them some of their chiefs, & particularly their bold Paugus, and a remarkable check is given to their insolence, and many lives may be sav'd by this means. While therefore we cry out, "How are the mighty fallen!" Let us admire the divine goodness, that under all their hazards, hardships & disadvantages, so many are returned. That our friends can't say as Job's messengers, "I only am escaped alone to tell thee:" but that so many are well, & give us the joyful account that our little army behaved bravely, fought manfully, & very successfully; so that tho' our loss is great, yet our enemies have no cause to triumph. O let

us magnify the Lord & exalt his name together, that the enemy did not swallow them up quick, that in wrath God has remembered mercy, & has not dealt with us after our sins.

To have done, let us yet encourage our selves in the Lord our God. Let us return to the Almighty & he will build us up. He will soon subdue our enemies, & give us peace in our borders. His hand can find out our enemies, & he that made 'em can make his sword to approach unto them. Is the brave Lovewell and other brave men dead! who made them what they were? who spirited and enabled 'em to do what they did? It was the Lord of Hosts, who lives still, who has the residue of the spirit, & can easily raise up others & will do so, if there be occasion, & we answer his expectation, and turn to him with all our hearts.

We may then sing the CXXI, and CXXV, and XLVI psalms, and say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore we will not fear, tho' the earth be removed, and tho' the mountains are carried into the midst of the sea: tho' the waters thereof roar and be troubled, and the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge." Selah.

Tri-Uni Deo Gloria!

THE DISPATCHES RECEIVED BY THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, AND THEIR ACTION AT THAT TIME

Dunstable May 11, 1725 To His Honor ye Governor [Dummer]

An information from Capt. Lovewell's Company, At Ossapye Pond a man being sick we left nine men with him. We made a fort there and sent out scouts discovered tracks, and then we marched towards Pigwacket. We heard a gun, then marched to Saweco River, discovered more tracks; then coming to Pigwacket, found where some Indians went into Canowes, then Marched and See one Ingen; kild him, and returning two miles; thare we ware shot upon, Capt. Lovewell wounded, and none returned but I, & ye ten men, and we and no more are yet come to Dunstable.

BENJ^r HASSELL, Corp.

With Hassell's account, Colonel Tyng transmitted the following explanation:—

May it please yr Honour.

Upon hearing of the newes early this morning, this Twelfth Instant, and Benj. Hassell gave me this account:—That on the ninth of this Instant, about nine or ten of the o'clock in the Morning, Capt. Lovewell saw an Indian on the opposite side of Sawco pond, & then they immediately left their packs and went about two miles before they came to him; they coming within about five or six rods before they saw the Indian, and the Indian made the first shot at them, and wounded Capt. Lovewell, & Sam¹ Whiting, and they Immediately killed the Indian, & returning back to their packs came within forty or fifty rods of them; the Indians Waylaid them under the banks of a little Brook capt. Lovewell's men being between the brook and the Pond, it being a Pine Plain, the Indians fired upon them both in the front and the rear, shouting & running towards them.

Capt. Lovewell fell at the first Volue the Indians shott, and Groand; this man being clost by him, and then he saw several of Capt. Lovewell's men get behind trees, Upon this, seeing such a great number of Indians, thought it best to return to some men they had left with a sick man at a Fort they had made, about thirty miles back by Osipee Pond, and he got to the Fort the next morning about nine of o'clock.

Your Hon^{rs}. Most Humble Servant,

And if your Honor thinks fitt, ELEAZER TYNG.
I will march up to the place.

Sargent Nathl. Woods Desired me to acquaint your Honor, that he was left with the nine men at the fort, and upon Hassels coming to the Fort, the men would stay no longer; Woods both desired & commanded them to stay, but could not prevail with them, & then he made the best of his way home.

Leut Blanchard came home last night.

[Gov. DUMMER'S LETTER] TO COL. WENTWORTH.

Boston, May 13, 1725.

Sir I have just time to inform you, that one of Capt. Lovewell's men is run from him & left him engaged with the Indians at Pigwacket last Lordsday, & says they were overpowered by numbers, & that he saw Capt. Lovewell fall & heard him groan, & that he himself was cut off from the company by the Indians passing between them. I have ordered out Capt. Tyng with forty men to make the best of his way to Osapye & Pigwacket in quest of the Enemy, & Capt. White to follow him with his company of Volunteers, & I must pray that you will act in concert with us in this affair, & send from New Hampshire a party of men upon the same ground. For if the enemy are such strength as to defeat Lovewell, they will thereupon be upon our frontiers in great Numbers.

It is of the greatest Importance that something be done vigiously, & expeditiously on this occasion.

[The same to COL. TYNG.]

To Col. Tyng.

May 13th, 1725.

Sir, This mornng I rec^d ye account of Indians Engaging Capt. Lovewell at Pigwacket, I have not time to make any observations

on the management of Hassel, & the men at the Fort who have so cowardly deserted their commander & fellow soldiers in their Danger.—Your readiness to go out forthwith after the enemy is well accepted & approved of by me, and the Council; accordingly I direct you to make up a body of forty Effective Men well armed and provided, (If you think so many necessary), & proceed without delay to Osapye & Pigwacket & the country thereabout, & make careful search for the Enemy in order to kill & destroy such as may be found there, and at the place of the Engagement with Capt. Lovewell. Endeavor what you can to find the bodies of the Indians or English that may have been slain, and you are hereby impowered to draw out of Capt. Willards Company twelve men to join you, & he is accordingly ordered to detail them & send them to your rendezvous forthwith.

If you find it necessary, you are hereby Authorized and impowered to Impress out of the various Towns in your Regiment, twelve or fifteen men for this service if you cannot enlist ye nessary number.

Capt. White is ordered to follow you as soon as he can possibly get the men ready & I have written to Lieut. Gov^r. Wentworth that a party may be sent from that Government to Pigwacket as soon as may be.

I depend upon your acting in this matter with the utmost diligence & vigour, you must take your Lt. Blanchard with you in this march—

Take two or three sufficient Pilots (& if it be necessary) take Hassel who left the company—I would have you go without your full complement than to make any delay.

[To COL. TYNG.]

Sir, This comes by an Indian of note belonging to a Tribe of French Mowhaws, who, with all his Nation are well disposed to us. This man came down with the Commissioners from Canada, & being desirous of being retained, I have now sent to you to give directions if he gets to you before you are marched, that he bee very well used, & that good care be taken of him.—Let him be sent to me again when he shall desire it.—I have This moment rec^d yours of this day with Blanchards account of the action between Lovewells men & the Indians, taken from Melven, & though the loss of so many brave men be great, I am very much comforted to find they behaved with

so much bravery & Gallantry. I hope it may please God to favour [you] with an Opportunity to take a Just revenge for the blood of your countrymen.

I am yours

WM. DUMMER.

Boston, 14 May, 1725.

Send down to me forthwith by the bearer hereof, Mr. Calef, the most intelligent person among Lovells men returned, that I may have a perfect account of that action.

The Indian seems disposed to go this march with you in company with Christian, and you must by all means Encourage it.

Pray make the best search you can when you come into the Ground where the action happened, for the dead and wounded, that none may perish for want of our care.

May it please your Honour.

Sir, I received your orders about Eleven of the clock, & I forthwith sent to Capt. Willard for twelve of his best men, & to Robert Richardson [of Chelmsford?] for fifteen of his Snow Shoe men, & to Capt. White which I expect tomorrow night, so that I hope to be ready to march by Sabath Morning.—I have also sent one of Capt. Lovewell's men, the bearer hereof, who was in the whole Engagement, and a man who, by the account the rest gave of him, behaved himself courageously to the last. I should be very glad of this man, or some other that escaped to go with me for a guide. There are five wounded men come in, & Doct^r Prescott is with them, & I hope none are dangerously wounded. Hassel says he is Sick, and cannot go with me. I remain your Honours

Humble servant,

Dunstable, May 14, 1725.

ELEAZER TYNG.

TO COL. FLAGG.

Sir, These are to empower & direct you forthwith to detach or impress out of the Reg^t whereof you are Lieut Coll, A Sergeant and Twelve effective able bodied men, well armed for his Magisteys service, for the Security & Reinforcement of Dunstable, until the the return of Col. Tyng & his company. They must be posted at the Garrisons of Joseph Bloghead, Nath^l. Hill, John Taylour, & John Lovewell, and three (?) Centinels in each Garrison, & the

Sergeant in that of the four that is nearest the Center—

The Sergeant must be very careful to keep the men well upon their duty, so as to be a good Guard & protection to the People, & you must give him directions in writeing accordingly. Let this matter be effected with all possible dispatch.

Boston, May 19th, 1725.

Portsmouth, May 23, 1725.

Sir

Just now came Express to me from Capt. Chesley who commanded the men I sent to "Osaby," &c. They came into Cocheco this morning.

On Thursday they came to Osaby Pond, it raining all Tuesday, march^d but little, but sent out several scouts all that day in hopes of finding some of Capt. Lovewells wounded men. On Thursday, before they came up with Osaby Pond, they discovered a Track of Indians, much larger than theirs, and then Quickly found Lovewell's Fort Fast shut up, they soon got into the Fort where they found a considerable quantity of Provisions, and sundry other Things with a writeing on a bark, that the men that went out were all lost. The day our people heard several Indians and heard the Dogs bark; so found they were discovered, and missing your men, they thought It advisable to return lest they meet with the same fate.

I find there is great uncertainty in our meeting in the woods, and would propose that your commanding officer were to us as Maj Hammond or Coll Westbrook have forthwith orders to raise one Hundred men or more out of your Eastern Townes, or from the militia of your Townes. You have stout men in Berwick, Kittery, York, &c., and send them up immediately. I will not disband the 53 men that now came down until I hear from you. You may depend Sir, that they will be down on some of your frontier Towns very soon, and it may be both; I will make our number up sixty on that march I verily believe they will stay in hopes of our coming up to bury the dead, and have a considerable number together.

There is fish enough and good other hunting, so that if we can make up an army of 200 men we may range all that country, as Pig-wacket, &c.

But this must be done with all possible dispatch, we can have no dependence on the men you sent from the Westward, whether we shall find them or not.

I am Dr Sir

Your most obt humble servt

I am of the opinion
that Capt Lovewell
wounded many of the
Indians, and that they cant
get them off. J. W.

J. WENTWORTH

To Lt Gov^r. Dummer.

A company was soon raised, under the command of Colonel Tyng, who marched from Dunstable on the 17th of May, and encamped at Amoskeag the first night; and, the next day proving rainy, they continued at their encampment. Colonel Tyng, having taken all the effective men from Dunstable, leaving the place exposed to an attack of the enemy, sent back the following letter to Governor Dummer:—

May it please your Honor

This day I marched from Amoskeag having 55 of my own men and 32 of Capt Whites the men are well & proceeded with a great deal of life and courage yesterday I was forced to lay still by reason of the rain. I would humbly offer something to your honor in the behalf of our people who are left very destitute and naked, that you would be pleased to consider their circumstances and order what you think proper for their defence till we return

I am your Honors

Most ob't Cervant

Amoskeag May 19, 1725

ELEAZER TYNG

It will be seen that the governor had anticipated Colonel Tyng's request, and had that very day ordered Colonel Flagg to send a sergeant and twelve men to do garrison duty there. Colonel Tyng proceeded directly to the battle-ground, where they found and buried the bodies of the following persons: Captain John Lovewell, Ensign Jonathan [Robbins], Ensign John Harwood,

and Robert Usher, of Dunstable; Sergeant Jacob Fullam, of Weston; Jacob Farrar and Josiah Davis, of Concord; Thomas Woods, Daniel Woods, and John Jefts, of Groton; Ichabod Johnson, of Woburn; Jonathan Kitteredge, of Billerica. Colonel Tyng found where the Indians had buried three of their men, which were dug up; and one of them was known to be the bold Paugus, who had been such a great scourge to Dunstable.

The frontier towns were, during the summer and fall, greatly excited by fear of the Indians, and several companies were kept out in the woods. One of these was commanded by our Ensign Seth Wyman, now advanced to be a captain: others by Captain John White, Joseph Blanchard, and Captain Willard. They generally kept along or near the Merrimac, as far as, and sometimes beyond, Pennacook; but occasionally, with "Nessa Gawney" for an interpreter, and Joseph, a Mohawk, for guide, they ranged as far as Winipocket and Chochea Path; but, with the exception of killing a bear or a moose, they saw nothing. The Indians had received too severe a chastisement to wish to again encounter the men who had been with Lovewell. The following letter gives an account of the sudden death of an old Mohawk guide:—

Dunstable July 10, 1725

To his Hon^r the Govenor

Sir may it please your honor old Christian being this morning taken with a Violent Bleeding caused our company to stop & within a few hours he Died, & the other Mohawks are not willing to leave him before he is buried, & our desire is to march over Merrimack River & there to take a true list of our mens names, & shall march as Quick as possible, We remain your honors at command.

JOHN WHITE

SETH WYMAN

From the Journal of the General Court.

Nov 6 1725 Col Tyng presented an account for Expences in Keeping old Christians Squaw & young Christians Squaw from June 9th to Novr 5, £10.10 he was allowed £5.5—and the next year he was allowed for keeping old Christians Squaw from Nov 6 to Jan 28, 1726

As early as 1723, when an Indian war was inevitable, it was proposed to the Legislature to obtain aid from the Mohawks, who had long been the terror of the Indians of this part of the country; and two gentlemen were sent to Albany to offer them large bounties for every scalp they would bring in from our "Indian enemy." Nothing definite was accomplished. In August, no less than sixty-three Mohawks came to Boston, where the Legislature was then in session, and a formal conference was held with them; but they declined to involve their tribe in war, saying if any of their young men inclined to go with the English, they could do so. Only two volunteered, who went to the eastward, but soon returned to Boston without having done much service. They were afterwards with Captain Moulton at the capture of Norridgewoc, where Mog, a famous old chief, firing from a house, shot one of the Mohawks dead; when his brother was so enraged, that he broke down the door, and shot Mog. The two which returned were old Christian and his son of the same name.

The General Court took efficient action; and soon after they assembled, passed the following resolution:—

In the General Court June 12 1725

Voted That the Committee for Petitions take under their consideration the sorrowful circumstances of the widow of Capt John Lovewell as well as the other widows who lost their husbands in the late action at Pigwackett against the Indian enemy, and that they also consider of the men who were in the action and returned from it & report what reward may be proper for the Court to give to the relations of the deceased and those that survived the action to encourage such like brave and gallant action in the future.

It will be seen by reference to "Individuals," in the "Biographical Sketches," that they were always ready to reward the survivors and families of the deceased members of Lovewell's Company, and three years later made the following grant:—

Aug 7 1728 David Melvin & William Ayer for themselves and a number of others who served as Volunteers against the Indians under Command of Capt John Lovewell ask that a tract of Province Land may be granted to them in consideration of their services.

It was resolved to Grant them "a Township of six Miles Square lying on both sides of Merrimack River to begin where Pennicook Grant Determines [terminates] & it is granted unto the forty seven soldiers and to their legal representatives of such as may be deceased who marched out with the said Capt Lovewell (himself included) when he engaged the enemy at Pigwocket & also to the first thirteen of the Sixty two men who were in the first March with the s^d Lovewell & not in the Pigwocket March who shall first offer & settle on the s^d land shall also be admitted to Equal Shares with the forty seven."

On the journals of the House of Representatives, 20th June, 1733, is this entry:—

A Committee made report on the lists and petitions of the volunteers under the late Capt. Lovewell, viz., on the petitions of *Jeremiah Pearley, John Bennet, and Thomas Farmer*, and eight others of said volunteers, read and accepted. One of them to be admitted instead of Edward Hartwell, who had been admitted but was not in the service; and that four more be admitted instead of *Joseph Wright, Joseph Wheelock, Robert Phelps, and John Houghton, Jr.*, who have been admitted to shares in Suncook, and as there were four more not provided for, ordered, that 1200 acres of land be laid out and added to the northwesterly part of Suncook, and that the remaining four be added to the original number, making in the whole 72, all to be equal in their right or proportion of lands. Volunteers now to be admitted, are *Thomas Farmer* and *Henry Colburn*.

After the State line was run, in 1741, and Suncook was found to be in New Hampshire, the proprietors had another township granted to them in Maine, which now bears the name of Lovell.

CONTEMPORANEOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE, AND LATER REPORTS.

Boston, May 17th, 1725.—Upon Saturday Morning the 8th Instant, Capt. Lovewell & his Company, consisting of Thirty-three Men, at *Pigwacket* discovered an Indian on the side of a Pond, whom they kill'd & scalp'd, & having march'd about 2 miles, about 10 a Clock in the Forenoon, the Indians fired upon them (from an Ambushment) both in front & Rear: Whereupon the English ran in and fired upon them, & the Indians (who they reckoned at least double their Number) endeavor'd to encompass them; The English made a regular Retreat to a Pond about 20 Rods distance, in order to have their Rear covered, and continued the Fight till Night, maintaining their Ground, & driving off the Enemy, several of whom they saw fall, & their Bodies drawn off by their Companions; The English fired 14 or 16 rounds, and 'tis supposed that 20 or 30 of the Enemy were killed. Capt. Lovewell & Ensign Robins were mortally wounded by the Indians first shot from their Ambushments, who (notwithstanding supporting themselves by such Trees as they could lay hold on) kept firing on the Enemy, & encouraging their Companions, they both had their Guns in hands, Lovewell's being cock'd & presented when he was past speaking. Twenty one of our Men were together at Night after the Indians drew off, Ten of which were wounded & 4 dangerously. 12 of the said 21 are returned to Dunstable & London-derry, & we hope 5 more to some of the Towns on Piscataqua River. The Loss of so Brave and Discreet an Officer as Capt LOVEWELL is much Lamented.—*Boston Gazette, 17 May, 1725.*

Dr. Belknap, in his *History of New Hampshire*, observes of Lovewell's fight:—

This was one of the most obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They not only had the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and waiting with deliberation for the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardor and impetuosity. Lovewell and his men, though disappointed of meeting his enemy in front, expected and

determined to fight. The fall of their commanders, and more than one-quarter of their number, in the first onset, was greatly discouraging, but they knew that the situation to which they were reduced, and the distance they were from the frontiers, cut off all hope of safety from flight. In these circumstances, prudence as well as valor dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender, until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honors of the field. After this encounter, the Indians resided no longer at Pequawket till the peace.

The remains of the stockades were found by the first settlers of Fryeburg forty years afterward. Walter Bryant, of Bow, who was employed as surveyor in a company engaged in the intended expedition against Canada in 1747, passed over the ground where the sanguinary conflict took place. He there "discovered Indian camps large enough to hold thirty men,—saw the spot where Lovewell was killed, and the trees full of bullet-holes, having also imitations of men's faces cut out upon them." When Dr. Belknap was there, the names of the dead on the trees, and the holes where balls had entered and been cut out, were plainly visible. The trees had the appearance of being very old, and one of them was fallen.—*N. H. Hist. Coll.* Vol i. pp. 29, 30.

The Rev. Paul Coffin, of Buxton, Me., visited Fryeburg and the site of the battle, in 1768. His journal is published in the *Maine Historical Collections*, vol. iv. He gives several initials which he saw cut on the trees; but I cannot identify those of a single one of the men Colonel Tyng buried there. It is probable they had been much altered.

Barstow, in his *History of New Hampshire*, thus describes the locality of the fight, and the present aspect of the beautiful valley in which Fryeburg is situated:—

The waters of the pond are encircled by a wide, sandy beach, which rises with a gentle slope, and is bordered with a growth of pines, which surround it like a belt. Loon Island rises, like a green speck, near the centre; and at a little distance from this is Pine Island, crowned with trees. The Saco sweeps within twenty rods of the pond, as if coming to receive the waters which flow into it

through a narrow channel. The village of Fryeburg stands on a level plain, elevated a few feet above the broad intervals of the Saco. In the midst of this plain rises a stupendous rock, two hundred feet; its top capped with small pines, its side clad in dark brown moss. When standing under its cliffs, man appears to be an insignificant object. It rises like an observatory in the midst of the unrivalled charms of an landscape over which the eye ranges for miles. From the south comes the Saco, flowing in graceful meanderings, its banks fringed with the various trees that adorn the meadows, and loses itself at last towards the north, amidst the hills which range themselves on either side. Northward are the Pequawket Mountains; and westward is Chocoro Peak, the monarch of the Sandwich range; altogether forming a semicircle group of mountains of surpassing grandeur. Anciently, within this township, scarce six miles in extent, the winding course of the Saco measured thirty-four miles in length. The frightful freshets of the river often compelled the inhabitants to retreat with their flocks and herds to the highlands.

They have now, by a canal running across the narrowest neck of land, led the river from its bed, and dried it up for a distance of thirty miles. In early times, the Pequawket Indians could float with their canoes, by making the circuit of Lovewell's Pond, near the shores, and passing through its outlet into the Saco, for more a hundred miles,—all within the township of Fryeburg. The features of this valley are hardly equalled in New England. From an observatory raised by the hand of Nature, the eye of the beholder ranges from Lovewell's Pond, on the southeast, eastward over an almost unbroken forest, until the view is bounded by Pleasant Mountain. He sees, almost at a glance, the silver thread of the Saco winding in the distance; the bright waters of the pond and the plains and meadows; the clouds resting on the summits of the mountains, or hanging wreathed around their rugged sides, sometimes illumined by the sun's rays like fluid gold, sometimes kindling with the first fires of the morning. Never did nobler mountains fling their broad shadows at sunset over more beautiful plains than those which surround the village of Fryeburg. Nor is it the least interesting of the traveller's reflections, while gazing here, that he treads upon the favorite hunting-grounds of the once formidable Pequawkets.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL, HIS OFFICERS AND SOME OF HIS MEN.

CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL¹ the hero of this story, was the oldest son of John Lovewell, who settled in Dunstable, Mass., and lived in that part of the township—near Salmon Brook—which afterwards fell within the town of Nashua, N. H. The father died about 1754, at the great age of *a hundred and twenty years*². It is said that he was an ensign in the army of Oliver Cromwell, about 1653. He probably settled first at Weymouth, Mass., and was with the famous Captain Church, during King Philip's War, and in the great Narragansett Swamp Fight, Dec. 19, 1675. He was a man of remarkable courage and physical vigor. In 1745, when he must have been about a hundred and ten years of age, he was very constant in attendance at church; and, after 1752, "used to chase the boys out of his orchard with his cane." His other sons were Zaccheus, born July 22, 1701, a colonel in the old French War; and Jonathan, born May 14, 1713, who was at one time a preacher, afterwards a judge, and died 1792; also a daughter Hannah, who married Lieutenant Josiah Farwell, who was killed at Pequauket.

Captain John Lovewell was, like his father, a man of great courage, and fond of engaging in adventurous and daring enter-

¹[Capt. John Lovewell was the son of John and Hannah Lovewell. His father, b. about 1651; d. after 1754, was the son of John Lovewell, Sr. who became a settler in old Dunstable as early as 1687. If any of this line served in Cromwell's Army, it must have been Capt. John Lovewell's grandfather, and not his father.]

²Many have been disposed to doubt that he ever reached the extreme age of a hundred and twenty years; and considerable research has been made to arrive at conclusive evidence, but without any definite result. Dying in 1754, he must have been born as early as 1634, and was therefore fifty-seven when his first child (our hero) was born. I have endeavored to find his name in the pay-roll of Philip's War, 1676, which is among the rare manuscripts in the library of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society; but, if it is in the roll, it is spelled Lovell. He witnessed a will in Boston, in 1660; and, if he was then twenty years old,—which is probable,—he was a hundred and sixteen when he died.

prises. He was particularly successful in hunting wild animals; and, in time of war, was engaged in exploring the wilderness to find the lurking-places of the Indians. There is a traditional account of his attacking and killing seven Indians on Lovewell's Mountain, in Washington³, which must be an error. The killing of seven Indians was an event that could not have been overlooked by the historians of that day; and a careful search over printed and written documents of that period fails to show any authority for the story. The locality was not where Indians resided, or would be likely to retreat to. Nearly fifty years ago, the writer, then a boy, visited the spot, saw the mountain and pond, and heard the tradition. The whole township was once the property of his family. Still, the mountain and pond bear the name of Lovewell, which they could hardly have obtained unless they had been visited by him—which was probably the case—on a hunting or scouting expedition; and some slight conflict with Indians may have occurred, of not sufficient importance to be noticed by any chronicler of the times.

He was born at Dunstable, Oct. 14, 1691. Married Hannah ——. Their children were, 1. John, born June 30, 1718; died July 2, 1763, leaving four children. 2. Hannah, born July 24, 1721. 3. Nehemiah, born Jan. 9, 1726 (a posthumous child). He married Rachel Farwell, Nov. 24, 1748; removed to Corinth, Vt., where he died, leaving a numerous family. The wife of Captain Lovewell married, for her second husband, a man by the name of Smith. She died Jan. 5, 1754. As every fact relative to this distinguished man will now be read with interest, a recent search in the probate records of Middlesex County has enabled the compiler to add the inventory of his estate. It serves to show, not only his property, but what composed the effects of the men in middling circumstances in our frontier towns at that period, as well as the value of a farmer's property in the currency of that day. In the settlement of the estate, his widow, who was the administrator, states that "she gave birth to a posthumous child; that there were three children, the youngest very weakly; that she had petitioned

³ Situated in Sullivan County, N. H.

the Legislature for aid, and received, at that time, £30, and afterward £60 additional; that, owing to the war, she has been obliged to leave town for a time;" and probably went to Chelmsford for safety, where the appraisalment of some of the property seems to have taken place.

Copy of a Petition to the General Court.

June 8, 1726. "The petition of Hannah Lovewell widow of Capt John Lovewell represents that by his Expense in raising Volunteers to go against the Indians &c., his estate is so much involved that it cannot pay the debts without selling his real estate"

It was resolved that fifty pounds be paid to Capt Henry Farwell & Col E Tyng with which to discharge the claims against the estate of the Late Capt Lovewell

Captain Lovewell was undoubtedly a brave, self-reliant man. At a time when most of the leaders who undertook campaigns against the Indians kept along the Merrimac, or other well-known tracts, he boldly marched out into the untrod wilderness, and carried war to their homes. His only mistake seems to have been, to march into the very region of the Pequaukets with so small a force; but, by the order of the Governor and Council, he was limited to fifty men, and had, when he started, in all forty-six; but the misfortune that caused the return of two, and the leaving nine more, was not his fault, nor could he have been provided against it. But this was the main cause of the disaster; for, had those been with him, it is probable that the Indians would have suffered an immediate defeat, without any great loss to our men. As this war has long borne the name of Lovewell, and as the largest tribe in Maine,—the Penobscotts,—soon after this battle, asked for, and, with the others, obtained, peace, while the fact that the Pequaukets always afterwards remained neutral we must rank the fight of Pequaket as a decisive victory, and Captain Lovewell as a hero, and benefactor to his country.⁴

⁴ The powder-horn worn by Lovewell in the fight is still preserved by his descendants, and the cellar of the house in which he lived is still visible a short distance from Salmon Brook, in Nashua.—*History of Dunstable.*

A True Inventory the Real and Personal Estate of Capt John Lovewell of Dunstable, Yeoman, deceased; Prized at Dunstable afores^d Novem^r the 22 Anno Domine 1725, as followeth:

Item.	His lands and meadows being by estimation Two hundred acres more or less, and the buildings thereon and the half part of a Saw-mill	420. 00. 00
Item.	The remainder of his wearing apparell not valued in the first Inventory	1. 11. 00
Item.	A feather bed and under bed and bed furniture . .	4. 10. 00
Item.	A Chest	06. 00
Item.	A Iron Pott	14. 00
Item.	A frying-pan	06. 00
Item.	A pair of Tonges, fire shovel and two Tramells . .	16. 00
Item.	Sundry Barrells and Tubs	14. 00
Item.	Cart Irons	1. 05. 00
Item.	Carpenters Tools	09. 06
Item.	A Draught Chain	10. 00
Item.	A Iron-pott	12. 00
Item.	A pair of Stilliards	06. 00
Item.	A how	02. 00
Item.	A Gun	16. 00
Item.	Instruments for drawing teeth	08. 00
Item.	A Grind-stone	10. 00
Item.	Two Steal Traps and Chains to them	1. 10. 00
Item.	One Stear	4. 00. 00
Item.	One Heifer	3. 10. 00
Item.	One Bull	1. 10. 00
		£444. 05. 06

A true Inventory of the Personal Estate of Capt John Lovewell Deceased Prized at Chelmsford the 29th day of June AD 1725.

His Apparell	£12
One feather bed & furniture	15.
Table lineng & Printed books	2.
Pewter & brass	4. 2
One Chest	15

Two Cows & Calves	9.
One Mare	7
Horse Furniture	1 2
	£50. 19

Lieutenant JONATHAN ROBBINS was a native of Chelmsford, and was born in that part of the town which was afterwards annexed to Carlisle. He removed to Dunstable, and settled on Long Hill, in what is now the southern part of Nashua. His wife was Margaret Gould. He signed Lovewell's petition, and was an officer in all the campaigns. Being a brave man, his loss was much regretted. It will be seen that his family received a handsome gratuity from Government. After the battle, and when his associates were about to leave him, wounded and unable to move, he desired them to leave his gun by his side, charged, that, if the Indians returned before his death, he might be able to kill one more. Could a soldier die more heroically? The following is extracted from the files of Middlesex County:—

Lt Jonathan Robbins Estate was administered on by his widow Margaret Robbins in 1725

Amount ⁵ of his personal estate was	69. 14. 6
“ for his wages and scalp money	24. 10
“ for sale of oxen and steers	2. 0.
“ sale of horse	2. 0.
Allowed by Government	60. 0.
	158. 4. 6
Real estate estimated at	150. 0. 0
	£308. 4. 6

His widow states that in consequence of the war she was obliged to transport household Goods stock & five children to Littleton & keep them there 11 months.

⁵ Among his Estate was a forge, which would indicate that he was a blacksmith.

Lieutenant JOSIAH FARWELL was born Aug. 27, 1698, and was the son of Henry Farwell of Dunstable, Mass., [the grandson of Joseph Farwell of Dunstable and the great] grandson of Henry Farwell of Concord, Mass., 1639, who was the emigrant ancestor of all, probably, who bear the name in this country.

Lieutenant Farwell married Hannah Lovewell, sister of our hero, and left a daughter Hannah, who was born Jan. 27, 1723.

Henry Farwell, of Dunstable, left to his grand-daughter Hannah, daughter of his son Josiah, three hundred pounds (£300), and provided in his will that it should be paid in good bills of credit of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, after the rate of twenty-six shillings per ounce in silver.

Mr. Farwell had, from his youth, been familiar with scouting and expeditions against the Indians. The following petition, copied from the Province records, gives a brief account of one of these campaigns:—

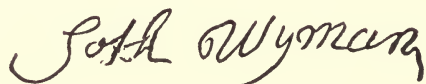
Nov 11th 1724 Josiah Farwell says he was among the ten who were ambushed by the Indians that manny of the English were killed, the rest were overpowered & forced to fly that he lost his gun coat & three pounds in money & prays an allowance he thinks they killed some of the enemy, he was allowed £5.

The *History of Dunstable* gives the particulars of this story, and says that all but Farwell were killed. Penhallow says there were fourteen in the company, and that half of them were killed. A Boston paper of that period gives the names of seven who were brought to Dunstable and buried.

He was one of the first to join Captain Lovewell, and was one of the signers to his petition. He commanded during most of the fight, as Lovewell was mortally wounded by a single Indian before it began. He was wounded, and attempted to reach the settlement. Owing to his condition, he made but slow progress; but held out till the eleventh day, when he died of exhaustion, as he had nothing to eat except a few roots which he chewed.

SETH WYMAN was born at Woburn, Sept. 13, 1686. He was son of Lieutenant Seth Wyman, and his wife Hester; and grandson of John Wyman, an early settler of that town. He married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Ross, of Billerica, Jan. 26, 1715, and had seven children,—five sons, and two daughters,—two of which died previous to 1725. Soon after his return from the Pequawket campaign—in which he served as ensign,—he received a captain's commission, and raised a company with which he went out against the "Indian enemy."

The summer was a very hot one; and many of the officers and men who were out on these expeditions became sick with a bloody flux, of which several died. Among these were Captain Wyman; [who died at Woburn, Sept. 5, 1725, of disease contracted during the summer].

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Seth Wyman". The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid, with a long, sweeping tail on the final letter.

His autograph here given is signed to a paper in the Massachusetts Archives.

The following is copied from the journals of the General Court:—

Dec 24 1726 A petition of Sarah Wyman widow of Seth Wyman,—says "her husband was in the public service under Capt Lovewell & was with him at his death, & afterwards raised a company of volunteers of which he had the command, that he took up for this command provisions & clothing to the value of £20, which he engaged to pay & his estate is now liable, that he dyed of sickness, which he contracted by his hard marches after the Indians, leaving five small children—that his land must be sold to pay his debts & prays for relief from this Court."—She was allowed twenty pounds.

BENJAMIN KIDDER was the son of James, and grandson of James Kidder, a native of England, who came to New England before 1650. He was born at Billerica, Aug. 11, 1697. He was of

the lineage of the compiler of this work, being an uncle of his grandfather. He married a daughter of Colonel John Goffe, one of the earliest settlers in Nutfield, now the city of Manchester, and resided near him. It is likely he was taken with a fever, or some violent disease, or Captain Lovewell would not have built a fort, and left his surgeon and nearly one-fourth of his command with him; for there can be no doubt, if the whole company had been in the fight, that the Indians would have been easily defeated with small loss. Some years after Kidder's return, he removed to Souhegan East (now Merrimac, N. H.); was a soldier in the expedition which captured Louisburg, where he died in 1745. In 1747, his father-in-law administered on his estate, applied for his pay, and stated that he left several children. His son John was named as a legatee in the will of his grandfather

EDWARD LINGFIELD was a corporal. He was a brother-in-law of Kidder, having also married a daughter of Colonel Goffe. He was one of the nine who were in the battle, and "received no considerable wounds." After his return, he received an ensign's commission. The time of his death is unknown.

JONATHAN FRYE was the chaplain of the company; was the son of James Frye, of Andover. Mr. Symmes gives some particulars of him and his death, and he is prominently mentioned in the ballads.

In December, 1725, there was a petition presented to the General Court from Captain James Frye, of Andover, saying, "that his son was killed in the fight at Pigwackett and that on making up the roll he had only centinels pay allowed him—that he lost his gun," &c.

Several early settlers of Fryeburg were of the Frye family from Andover; and their descendants have, for a century, resided near the scene of the conflict, while their name will be perpetuated in that of the beautiful town which includes the now classic locality.

ELEAZER DAVIS was of Concord; but, in 1738, was living in

the town of Harvard. I find the following statements regarding him in the manuscript volumes at the State House. Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, writing under date of May 28, after regretting the return of the company he sent out to Pigwacket, which returned without reaching there, says:—

Yesterday, came in at Berwick Eleazer Davis of Concord one of Capt Lovewells men who was eleven days wandering before he found the Fort, I have him at Portsmouth where he is well taken care of, he is wounded in the belly & part of his thumb shot off, is likely to do well I have sent you what was taken down from his mouth yesterday.

‘The petition of Eleazer Davis of Concord that he received at the battle of Pigwacket a wound in his body & he is unable to labor &c—He had four pounds granted him “for his public sufferings and services especially on account of the wounds and smart received at Lovewells fight.” This sum was ordered to be paid him annually for five years.

A grandson of Davis informed Mr. Butler, author of the *History of Groton*, that Davis and Frye were together on their return; and, coming to a brook, they saw a fish. They cut strips from their moccasins for a line, and caught it. Having kindled a fire, they broiled and ate it. Davis was refreshed; but it proved fatal to Mr. Frye. This hook and line were preserved till 1825, when it was sent to the Centennial Celebration at Fryeburg, where it was exhibited.

NOAH JOHNSON had been an old Indian fighter before he went out in Lovewell’s last expedition. He belonged to Dunstable. He was a lieutenant in the French War, 1745. In 1730, he petitioned the General Court for £3, as a compensation “for a gun of his that was lost in the fight that Captain French had with the Indians.” The court allowed his *whole* claim. He was one of those who had lands granted him at Suncook, at which place he was living in 1737. In that year, he asked for “a further pension of fifteen pounds, on account of wounds he received in the fight with the Indians, at Pigwacket;” and it does not appear, from

the journals of the General Court, that there were any that dissented to the full amount asked for. He died at [Plymouth], Aug. 13, 1798, in the one hundredth year of his age⁶. For the date of his death, we are indebted to Mr. Fox's *History of Dunstable*.

JOSIAH JOHNSON resided in Woburn. After his return, he married. The time of his death is unknown. His wife survived him many years, and gave Mr. Butler some particulars of the campaign, which he inserted in his *History of Groton*.

[Noah Johnson], who survived the battle, visited Fryeburg after its settlement. To try his recollection of the localities, he was taken, by Rev. Mr. Fessenden⁷ and others, first, to the mouth of Lovewell's Brook. After a little examination, he said it was not the spot. On reaching the battle-ground, he recognized it at once, and began to shed tears as he pointed out the places where his comrades fell.

The following is extracted from the journals of the General Court in 1725 and the following years:—

The petition of Noah and Josiah Johnson shewing they were so disabled by their wounds received by the Indian enemy at Pig-wacket that they fear they may not be able to get their living by their labor, praying some relief from this Court & that the amount of charges occasioned by their wounds as hereunto annexed may be allowed & paid to them out of the public treasury.

‘Resolved that the sum of twenty one pounds and seventeen shillings be allowed and paid out of the public treasury to Noah Johnson And that the sum of thirty two pounds two shillings be paid out of the public treasury to Josiah Johnson in full dis-

⁶ [In the Columbian Centinel, Boston, Oct. 24, 1798 we read “Died. At Plymouth, N. H. Dea. Noah Johnson. *Æt.* 104. He was engaged in the famous battle of Lovell at the place now called Fryburg; and had three or four years been the last survivor who engaged in that memorable transaction.”]

⁷ [Rev. William Fessenden graduated at Harvard College in 1768, and was settled over the First Church at Fryeburg, Me. from Oct. 11, 1775 until his death there May 6, 1805.]

charge for their losses & sufferings as set forth in their petitions'—In June 1726 Noah Johnson again petitioned saying he has lost the use of his hands—allowed £13.15—for his Expenses and Doctors bill—In Dec 1726 he petitioned again & received ten pounds.

JACOB FARRAR, eldest son of Jacob Farrar, was the fourth in descent from John, the patriarch of the family, who came to this country in 1635. He was born at Concord, Oct. 23, 1693. Married Sarah Wood in 1714. He was killed in the fight. His wife was appointed administrator on his estate, June 9, 1725; and her father and her husband's uncle were her sureties. Her administrator's account was settled April 8, 1726; and, the next day, she married David Parlin. Mr. Farrar's children were three daughters and two sons,—Jacob and Ephraim,—who have left numerous descendants.

JOSEPH FARRAR—cousin of the above—was son of George Farrar; and was born at Concord, Feb. 28, 1694. Married Mary —, 1715. He died about 1732, leaving three sons and two daughters.

DAVID MELVIN, of Concord, as also his brother, were of those who received "no considerable wounds." He commanded a company at the taking of Louisburg, in 1745, and received a wound of which he died the same year.

ELEAZER MELVIN was from the same town. He was a lieutenant at Louisburg, and commanded a company in several subsequent campaigns.

TIMOTHY RICHARDSON was a member of the numerous family of that name, long residents of Woburn. In December, 1725, he petitioned the General Court for aid; saying that he was in the battle at Pigwacket, and received grievous wounds, from which he was then suffering. He was allowed £18.

In December, 1726, he petitioned again; saying "that he was wounded at the fight at Pigwacket by a bullet that went through the trunk of his body, and was then taken out of his bone; that

he is disabled by said wound, and can do but little for the support of his family," &c. He was allowed £5.

SAMUEL WHITING, son of Samuel of Dunstable, was a descendant of the Rev. Samuel Whiting, who had been a minister at Boston, in England, and who was afterwards celebrated preacher at Lynn, Mass. He was badly wounded in the fight; but succeeded in reaching home, where he is supposed to have died the same year. He left a family, from whom have descended many persons of considerable celebrity.

ABIEL ASTEN belonged in that part of Haverhill now Salem, N. H., where he was living in 1790, aged over eighty years.

ZEBEDIAH AUSTIN belonged in that part of Haverhill now Methuen. He married Sarah Gutterson, April 18, 1729.

JOSIAH JONES was of Concord. He was wounded by a ball, which lodged in his body. After being out fourteen days in the woods, in hourly expectation of perishing, he arrived at Saco, emaciated, and almost dead from the loss of blood and the putrefaction of his wounds, and want of food. He had subsisted on the spontaneous vegetables of the forest; and cranberries which he had eaten came out of the wounds he had received in his body.

Also, on the same day, another of Captain Lovewell's men came into Saco, named Josiah Jones, belonging also to Concord, wounded with a shot above his hip, now under the care of Dr. Allen, who we hope will do well.—[The *Boston News-Letter*, from Thursday, May 27, to Thursday, June 3, 1725. In this account in the paper we find the name of Nathaniel Jones, which is an error and intended for Josiah Jones.]

A petition, in 1725, of Josiah Jones of Concord, that he was in the engagement with the Indian enemy, under the command of Captain John Lovewell, in May last, and that he received a ball which yet remains in his body; and that, by reason of said wound, he is unable to labor for his support, and he prays for relief; says he was nineteen days getting to Casco Bay, and suffered greatly. He was allowed £8. 7. 6.

Another petition of Josiah Jones sets forth his great sufferings by the wounds he received from the Indian enemy; being nineteen days alone upon his travel after his wounds were received; having still a musket-shot in his body, although he has been four or five months in the hands of the doctor, and is like to be a cripple all his days. Voted that the sum of twenty-five pounds be allowed and paid him, in consideration of his passed sufferings, pain, loss of time, and expense, since his removal from Casco Bay. In 1739, it was ordered that his pension be continued five years longer.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN was of Groton. He was one of the fortunate few who returned with only a slight wound; and he seems to have been equally fortunate in having received a large share of the glory of the campaign.

The story of his killing Paugus has had a large circulation, and is found as a fact in several historical works. It is stated, that he and Paugus retired to the brook to wash their guns, which had become foul by constant firing; that, on wiping them, they quickly loaded, each striving to be first, and bantered as to who should kill or be killed. Chamberlain's gun primed itself; and, he firing first, Paugus fell, while his bullet whistled over Chamberlain's head, leaving him unharmed. Now, a moment's reflection would show that this story is improbable, if not impossible, were it not refuted on the very best authority; viz., a contemporaneous writer. By reference to the ancient ballad, in the last verse, it is plainly stated that Ensign Wyman "shot the old chief Paugus, which did the foe defeat." As this was written the year of the fight by one who knew all the particulars, its veracity cannot be questioned; and we trust the story will not again be republished as historical truth. The story of a descendant of Paugus, long after his departure to the spirit-land, searching out Chamberlain with an attempt to revenge the blood of his relative, and meeting the fate of the chief by the hand of Chamberlain, is undoubtedly, like the other, a pure fiction. It has often been said that a man was elected Vice-President for killing an Indian he never saw (Tecumseh);

and Chamberlain has certainly received much fame for shooting an Indian who was surely killed by another^s.

BENJAMIN HASSELL was the son of Joseph, of Dunstable; grandson of Joseph who was in Cambridge in 1648, who was, with his wife, killed by the Indians in 1691. Mr. Symmes having declined to give the name of the man who so cowardly fled in the beginning of the engagement, as being unworthy of transmission to posterity, it remained till recently unknown. He was certainly the cause of the loss of several of those who were badly wounded, and who might have been relieved from the fort, had not he, with probably much exaggeration of the facts, communicated his own fright to the garrison there; so that they gave up all as lost, and made their way, with much speed to Dunstable. When applied to by Colonel Tyng to return to Pigwacket as his guide, Hassell declined, saying he was sick. It is said, that, at first, there was much feeling against him, as being the cause of so much suffering and disaster; but it was forgotten, and he regained the favor of his neighbors. He is supposed to have long resided, and died, in Dunstable.

^s [For another interpretation see *John Chamberlain the Indian Fighter at Pigwacket*, infra.]

MEMOIR OF THE SOKOKIS OR PEQUAUKET TRIBE OF INDIANS.

THE tribe of Indians which inhabited the country bordering the Saco River were noticed by the earliest navigators. Captain John Smith, who visited these shores in 1614, mentions, among other names, that of Sawogotuck (Saco); and La Hontan says, "The Sokokis were one of the tribes of the country." Gorges calls them Sockhigones. Two of their chiefs, about 1640, conveyed lands. Their names were Fluellen and Captain Sunday; and who succeeded them is well known in history.

Charlevoix mentions them, and says they were one of the tribes that founded the settlement at St. Francis, Canada, where some of their descendants still reside. Williamson, in his *History of Maine*, says they were a numerous people, and that their original place of residence was on the Islands, near the falls of the Saco, a few miles from the sea; and that, at an early period, they employed English carpenters to build them a strong fort of timber, fourteen feet high, with flankers. This was to protect themselves from the Mohawks, who sometimes extended their incursions to the Bay of Fundy. He also states that there were two branches; one of which had their residence on the banks of the Ossipee, and the other on the alluvial land in the bends of the Saco, at the present town of Fryeburg. At the treaty of peace held at Sagadahoc, in 1702, there were delegates from those inhabiting at Winnesockee, Ossipee, and Pigwacket. At the attack on Farmouth, now Portland, in August, 1676, it is stated the Sagamore of Pegwacket was taken and killed; and also, by an Indian that was taken, the army was informed, "yt at Pegwacket there are twenty English Captives." Belknap mentions that Natambomet, Sagamore of Saco, signed a treaty of peace in 1685; and in 1702, in the treaty before referred to at Sagadahoc, Governor Dudley

met, among delegates from other tribes, Watorota-nunton, Hagon, and Adiawonda, chiefs of the Pequaukets. The latter name figures in the annals of the tribe for the next half-century. In the treaty made at Portsmouth, in 1713, with all the eastern Indians, the Pigwockets are mentioned; but the names of their delegates cannot be identified. In that of 1717, held at Arrowsic, on the Kennebec, two of their chiefs, Adeawando and Scawesco, appear, and sign the treaty with a cross. They were probably, at that period, about as numerous as any of the tribes then existing in Maine; although a considerable part of them had gone, some years before, to join the settlement at St. Francis..

The precise period when they permanently left the lower part of the Saco is unknown; but it is likely it preceded the early settlements there; and, with their change of residence, they soon changed their original name of Sokokis, and were known by that of Ossipees and Pigwockets, or Piquaukets. The latter has been written in a great variety of ways. It is found with at least twenty variations, of which it is hardly worth while to give examples here. At the time of Lovewell's fight, it seems mainly to have been written Pigwocket. Belknap wrote it Pequawket, and he has generally been followed by succeeding historians; but Mr. Potter, in his *History of Manchester*, spells it Pequauquauke; though it is doubtful if he finds any to follow his prolonged orthography. The recent attention given to Indian philology has thrown much light on their names and their signification; and, while all the original sounds should be retained, it is well to simplify them, and render them as euphonious as possible. The true meaning of the word is "crooked place." It is, like most Indian names, a compound word, made up from *Peque* or *Pequau*, crooked; *auk*, place or locality; *et*, a verbal termination, meaning "it is," or "here it is,"—*Pequauket*; and, believing that the true sound is well expressed by these letters, it has been, after considerable research, adopted, and it is hoped it may be generally followed. It is singularly expressive of the locality; for here the Saco makes perhaps the most remarkable crooks or bends of any stream in New England; running a distance said to be about thirty miles

to gain less than six. This will be seen more distinctly by a reference to the map which makes the frontispiece to this volume. It may be stated, that Eliot, in his Indian Bible, and Roger Williams, use nearly the same word to express crooked or winding. Ossipee is made up from *cowass*, pines; and *sepee*, a river. By omitting the initial letter *c*, and two others, we have the euphonious and significant word, Ossipee, or the river of pines, as this tree abounded in that region. Of their numbers at the time of the battle with Lovewell, it can only be conjectured; but we now know that all the tribes have been much overrated. In this action, they must have had some fifteen or twenty of their warriors killed or badly wounded; and Paugus (the oak), and Wahowa (the broad-shouldered), were brave and daring leaders, but neither was the principal chief: though Paugus had been long known as a chief leader in their forays against the frontiers. We have shown that Adeawonda had represented the tribe at treaties for more than twenty years previous. In 1726, Captain John Giles, who commanded the fort at Saco, and had a long experience with all the Indians in Maine, made a list of the numbers of men over sixteen years, in the various tribes, which is preserved in the *Maine Historical Collections*. He puts down "the Papukig (Pequaukets) as only twenty four fighting men." This was, no doubt, correct. He says "their chief is Edewancho" (Adeawando). At the close of Lovewell's War, a treaty was made, to which the Pequaukets were a party; and, from that period, we hear nothing of them for several years. They had suffered too severely by the hands of Lovewell and his company to wish for another trial. They found they were not secure in their remote village; and a part of them—the most warlike—emigrated to Canada; but those who remained always advocated and practised peace with the whites, while the emigrants to Canada became our bitterest enemies.

In Rev. Mr. Smith's journal, kept at Falmouth, now Portland, we find the following, under date of July 9, 1745: "Several gentlemen are with the Mohawks, down at St. Georges, treating with the Penobscott Indians about peace. About twenty Saco Indians are at Boston, pretending to live with us."

In confirmation of this, we find, that, at the treaty of Falmouth in 1749, the Pigwacket Indians are named as being present; but it was decided by the commissioners, that, as they had not been engaged in the war, it was not necessary that they should join in the treaty.

There is no doubt, that, soon after the close of Lovewell's War, a part of the tribe, with their neighbors, the Assigunticooks and Noridgewocs, emigrated to Canada, and among them their chief Adeawando, where he was a favorite of the Governor-General, and, as he had been at Pequauket, became their statesman, but not their military chief. In 1752, Captain Phineas Stevens proceeded to Canada, as a delegate from the Governor of Massachusetts, to confer with the St. Francis tribe, and redeem some prisoners they had taken from New England. In a conference held at Quebec, Atewanto was the chief speaker, and made an eloquent reply, in which he charged the English with trespassing on their lands. "He said, 'We acknowledge no other land of yours but your settlements, wherever you have built; and we will not consent, under any pretext, that you pass beyond them.'—'The lands *we* possess have been given us by the great Master of life. We acknowledge to hold only from him.'"

In a letter from Jacob Wendell, a resident of Boston, but dated New York, 1749 (see N. Y. Col. Hist. vol vi.), he says, "that, in the beginning of the war with France (1745), some men, women, and children, of a tribe called by us Pigwackett, came to a fort near where they lived, and desired that they might live among the English; for that they desired they might not be concerned in the war: and they lived some time at the fort; but, when war was proclaimed against the eastern Indians, they were brought up to Boston, where good care was taken of them by the Government, a suitable place, about fifty miles from Boston, provided for them to live at, where there was good fishing and fowling, and their clothing, and what else they wanted, provided for them by the Government. On the application, this summer, of the eastern

¹ See Kidder's Abanaki Indians, *Maine Historical Collection*, Vol. vi.

Indians to Governor Shirley for peace, and the messengers promising to call in all the heads of the tribes concerned with them in the war, it was concluded by the Governor, if these Pigwackitt Indians desire it, they should go down there; and I am informed by Mr. Boylston, who left Boston some time after me, that he saw those Indians there, and the Commissary-General told him he had orders to provide for and send them all down to Casco Bay, where the treaty was appointed; that, I believe, the account thereof may be sent to Canada before now, and the St. Francois satisfied. Thus I have given your Excellency a true account of these Indians; and hope, when the Governor-General has it sent him, he will send home the poor prisoners belonging to this as well as to the neighboring Provinces.”²

It may be inferred from this letter, that, when the war of 1745 begun, instead of joining the other eastern tribes against the whites, they remembered Lovewell's fight twenty years before, and were so determined to preserve their neutrality, that they left that part of the country, and only returned when peace was to be made.³

Of that part of the tribe which remained, but little more can be ascertained. Douglass the historian, who wrote about 1750, says.⁴ The Pequauket Indians live in two towns (probably at Pequauket and at Ossipee), and have only about a dozen fighting-men. They often travel to Canada by way of Connecticut River.

² In a letter of La Jonquière to Lieutenant-Governor Phipps, dated at Quebec, in 1750, he asks for the discharge of twenty-six Abenakas (Pequaukets), detained on an Island near Boston as an exchange of prisoners. He states their Indians were infuriated that a part of their tribe should be kept as prisoners. This letter was probably written at the instigation of Adeawando. In vol. x., p. 252, of *New-York Colonial History* may be found the proposition to Captain Stevens of this arrogant chief.

³ It is probable, that, when the whites demanded that the captives made by the Indians should be returned, that some of the Pequaukets who had emigrated to the St. Francis—probably Adeawando—had heard that their tribe were under the charge of the English, and supposed or claimed that they were held as prisoners, and had told the Governor of New York so; and this letter was to the Governor, to enable him to contradict the story.

⁴ [*A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North America.* By William Douglass, M. D. Boston, 1749, Vol. I, p. 185.]

After the conquest of Canada, and the occupation of Fryeburg by the whites, the remnant of the tribe remained about the upper part of Connecticut River till the begining of the Revolution. The last trace of them, as a tribe, is in a petition to the Government of Massachusetts, dated at Fryeburg, in which they ask for guns, blankets, and ammunition for thirteen men who are willing to enroll themselves on the patriot side. This document was indorsed by the proper authorities, and the request was granted. In Drake's *Book of the Indians*, is the following: "With the Androscoggins, the Pigwackets retired to the sources of the Connecticut River, who, in the time of the Revolution, were under a chief named Philip."

Long after this, solitary members, and sometimes a family, lingered round the vicinity of their ancient home; and the old people, not long since,* remembered the names of Old Philip, Tom Hegen, and Swarson, and also the fact that a number of them were engaged in the Revolutionary War, for which they received suitable rewards.

These were the last representatives of the once-formidable tribe of Pequauket.

* 1865.

BALLADS.

IT has been a feature in all the wars in which we have been involved, where the feelings of the people have been aroused, that the muses of the day have not been silent. This was particularly the case in our border conflicts, and during the Revolution.

The exploits of Captain Lovewell no doubt brought forth many of these homely ballads, of which only two have been preserved. If they do not possess what would at the present day be called poetic merit, they answered well the purpose for which they were mainly designed,—which was to arouse and keep alive a daring martial spirit, and incite the young men to go out, and meet the enemy.

“Let me make the ballads of a people,” it has been said, “and I care not who makes the laws.” There is deep wisdom, and a knowledge of the feelings of the common people, in the remark. Such ballads, rude as these were, sung with feeling around the fireside, or by the soldiers on a weary march or in their camps, nurtured the bold spirit which encountered the Indians in the wilderness, conquered at Louisburg, wrested the Canadas from the French, and continued their influences through the Revolution. One of the oldest of these, composed, it is said, the year of the fight, “The most beloved song in all New England,” is first inserted. The author is unknown. It is printed in Farmer & Moore’s *Historical Collections*, Concord, N. H., 1824, from which work it is now copied. The historical facts there stated are no doubt reliable. It has been frequently reprinted.

SONG OF LOVEWELL'S FIGHT.

I.

OF worthy Captain Lovewell I purpose now to sing,
How valiantly he served his country and his king :
He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,
And hardships they endured to quell the Indians' pride.

II

'Twas nigh unto Pigwacket, on the eighth day of May,
They spied a rebel Indian soon after break of day :
He on a bank was walking, upon a neck of land
Which leads into a pond, as we're made to understand.

III

Our men resolved to have him, and travelled two miles round,
Until they met the Indian, who boldly stood his ground.
Then speaks up Captain Lovewell : " Take you good heed," says he :
" This rogue is to decoy us, I very plainly see.

IV

The Indians lie in ambush, in some place nigh at hand,
In order to surround us upon this neck of land ;
Therefore we'll march in order, and each man leave his pack,
That we may briskly fight them when they shall us attack."

V.

They come unto the Indian who did them thus defy:
As soon as they came nigh him, two guns he did let fly,
Which wounded Captain Lovewell, and likewise one man more ;
But, when this rogue was running, they laid him in his gore.

VI.

Then, having scalped the Indian, they went back to the spot
Where they had laid their packs down, but there they found them not ;
For the Indians, having spied them when they them down did lay,
Did seize them for their plunder, and carry them away.

VII.

These rebels lay in ambush, this very place near by ;
So that an English soldier did one of them espy,
And cried out, " Here's an Indian !" with that they started out
As fiercely as old lions, and hideously did shout.

VIII.

With that our valiant English all gave a loud huzza,
To show the rebel Indians they feared them not a straw :
So now the fight began as fiercely as could be ;
The Indians ran up to them, but soon were forced to flee.

IX.

Then spake up Captain Lovewell when first the fight began :
" Fight on, my valiant heroes ; you see they fall like rain ;"
For, as we are informed, the Indians were so thick,
A man could scarcely fire a gun, and not some of them hit.

X.

Then did the rebels try their best our soldiers to surround ;
But they could not accomplish it, because there was a pond
To which our men retreated, and covered all the rear :
The rogues were forced to flee them, although they skulked for fear.

XI

Two logs that were behind them so close together lay,
Without being discovered they could not get away ;
Therefore our valiant English they travelled in a row,
And at a handsome distance, as they were wont to go.

XII.

'Twas ten o'clock in the morning when first the fight begun,
And fiercely did continue till the setting of the sun,
Excepting that the Indians, some hours before 'twas night,
Drew off into the bushes, and ceased a while to fight.

XIII.

But soon again returned in fierce and furious mood,
Shouting as in the morning, but yet not half so loud ;

For, as we are informed, so thick and fast they fell,
Scarce twenty of their number at night did get home well.

XIV.

And that our valiant English till midnight there did stay,
To see whether the rebels would have another fray ;
But, they no more returning, they made off toward their home,
And brought away their wounded as far as they could come.

XV.

Of all our valiant English there were but thirty-four,
And of the rebel Indians there were about fourscore :
And sixteen of our English did safely home return ;
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

XVI.

Our worthy Captain Lovewell among them there did die ;
They killed Lieutenant Robbins, and wounded good young Frye,
Who was our English chaplain : he many Indians slew,
And some of them he scalped when bullets round him flew.

XVII.

Young Fullam, too, I'll mention, because he fought so well ;
Endeavoring to save a man, a sacrifice he fell :
And yet our valiant Englishmen in fight were ne'er dismayed,
But still they kept their motion, and Wyman captain made,—

XVIII.

Who shot the old chief Paugus, which did the foe defeat ;
Then set his men in order, and brought off the retreat ;
And, braving many dangers and hardships by the way,
They safe arrived at Dunstable the thirteenth day of May.

There was printed in Farmer & Moore's *Historical Collections*, in 1824, a ballad on Lovewell's fight, written by a gentleman that has obtained some celebrity as a poet [Prof. Thomas C. Upham of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine] who is still

[1865] living, etc., but has never allowed his name to accompany it. We give the initial stanza:—

What time the noble Lovewell came,
With fifty men from Dunstable,
The cruel Pequ'ctt tribe to tame
With arms and bloodshed terrible.

It is quite lengthy, and most of the statements are mainly ideal, and some are known to be erroneous; and, for these reasons, it is omitted. It may be found in Drake's *Book of the Indians*, and some other publications.

THE MOURNFUL ELEGY ON MR. JONATHAN FRYE, 1725.

[Communicated to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register by
T. C. Frye, of Andover, Mass., and published in the volume for 1861, p. 91.]

These lines, tradition says, were written, when the news of Mr. Frye's death reached Andover, by a young girl to whom he had engaged himself against the wishes of his parents. Their objections were, want of property and education. Her name is lost.

ASSIST, ye muses ; help my quill,
Whilst floods of tears does down distil ;
Not from mine eyes alone, but all
That hears the sad and doleful fall
Of that young student, Mr. Frye,
Who in his blooming youth did die.
Fighting for his dear country's good,
He lost his life and precious blood.
His father's only son was he ;
His mother loved him tenderly :
And all that knew him loved him well ;
For in bright parts he did excel
Most of his age ; for he was young,—
Just entering on twenty-one.
A comely youth, and pious too :
This I affirm ; for him I knew.
He served the Lord when he was young,
And ripe for Heaven was Jonathan.
But God did take him from us all,
And we lament his doleful fall.
Wher'er I go, I hear this cry,
Alas, alas ! good Mr. Frye
Wounded and bleeding he was left,
And of all sustenance bereft,
Within the hunting desert great,
None to lament his dismal fate.

A sad reward, you'll say, for those
For whom he did his life expose.
He listed out with courage bold,
And fought the Indians uncontrolled,
And many of [the] rebels slew
While bullets thick around him flew.
At last a fatal bullet came,
And wounded this young man of fame,
And pierced him through, and made him fall ;
But he upon the Lord did call.
He prayed aloud ; the standers by
Heard him for grace and mercy cry.
The Lord did hear, and raised him so,
That he enabled was to go.
For many days he homewards went,
Till he for food was almost spent ;
Then to the standers by declared,
"Death did not find him unprepared."
And there they left him in the wood,
Some scores of miles from any food,
Wounded and famishing all alone,
None to relieve or hear his moan,
And there without all doubt did die.
And now I'll speak to Mr. Frye :
Pray, sir, be patient ; kiss the rod ;
Remember this the hand of God
Which has bereft you of your son,—
Your dear and lovely Jonathan.
Although the Lord has taken [near]
Unto himself your son most dear,
Resign your will to God, and say,
" 'Tis God that gives and takes away : "
And blessed be his name ; for he,—
For he has caused this to be.
And now to you, his mother dear,
Be pleased my childish lines to hear :
Mother, refrain from flowing tears :
Your son is gone beyond your cares,
And safely lodged, in Heaven above,

With Christ, who was his joy and love ;
And, in due time, I hope you'll be
With him to all eternity.
Pray, madam, pardon this advice :
Your grief is great, mine not much less ;
And, if these lines will comfort you,
I have my will. Farewell! adieu!

The following stanzas are from the pen of Thomas C. Upham, a New-Hampshire poet. They were written on visiting the scene of Lovewell's fate, and are worthy the fine taste and genius of the author.

AH; where are the soldiers that fought here of yore?
The sod is upon them ; they'll struggle no more.
The hatchet is fallen, the red man is low ;
But near him reposes the arm of his foe.

The bugle is silent, the war-whoop is dead ;
There's a murmur of waters and woods in their stead ;
And the raven and owl chant a symphony drear,
From the dark-waving pines, o'er the combatants' bier.

The light of the sun has just sunk in the wave,
And a long time ago set the sun of the brave.
The waters complain as they roll o'er the stones,
And the rank grass encircles a few scattered bones.

The names of the fallen the traveller leaves
Cut out with his knife in the bark of the trees.
But little avail his affectionate arts ;
For the names of the fallen are graved in our hearts.

The voice of the hunter is loud on the breeze ;
There's a dashing of waters, a rustling of trees :
But the jangling of armor hath all passed away ;
No gushing of life-blood is here seen to-day !

The eye that was sparkling, no longer is bright ;
The arm of the mighty, death conquered its might ;
The bosoms that once for their country beat high,—
To those bosoms the sods of the valley are nigh.

Sleep, soldiers of merit! sleep, gallant of yore!
The hatchet is fallen, the struggle is o'er.
While the fir-tree is green, and the wind rolls a wave,
The tear-drop shall brighten the turf of the brave.

PENHALLOW'S ACCOUNT OF LOVEWELL'S EXPEDITIONS

CAPT. [John] Lovewell from Dunstable, with thirty volunteers, at the same time went northward, who, marching several miles up the country, came on a wigwam wherein were two Indians, one of which they killed and the other took, for which they received the promised bounty of one hundred pounds a scalp, and two shillings and six pence a day besides.

Capt. Lovewell, who was endowed with a generous spirit and resolution of serving his country, and well acquainted with hunting the woods, raised a new company of volunteers, and marched some miles beyond their common head-quarters: on the easterly side of Winnepiseogee Pond, he crossed an Indian track, and soon after espied two of them, whose motions he watched all the day, and at night silently came upon them as they lay asleep round their fire. At his first firing, he killed seven, after that, two more, and wounded another, which was their whole company: who being within a day and a half's march of our frontiers, would probably have done mischief, had they not been so seasonably prevented.

Their arms were so new and good, that most of them were sold for seven pounds apiece, and each of them had two blankets, with a great many spare moccasins, which were supposed for the supplying of captives that they expected to have taken. The plunder was but a few skins; but during the march, our men were well entertained with moose, bear, and deer, together with salmon-trout, some of which were three feet long, and weighed twelve pounds apiece.

Being still animated with an uncommon zeal of doing what service he could, Capt. Lovewell made another attempt on Pigwacket with forty-four men; who in his going built a small fort near Ossipee, to have recourse unto in case of danger, as also for the

relief of any that might be sick or wounded; and having one of his men at this time sick, he left the doctor with eight men more to guard him: with the rest of his company, he proceeded in quest of the enemy, who on May the 8th, about ten in the morning, forty miles from said fort, near Saco Pond, [Lovewell Pond in Fryeburg], he saw an Indian on a point of land: upon which they immediately put off their blankets and knapsacks, and made towards him; concluding that the enemy were ahead and not in the rear. Yet they were not without some apprehensions of their being discovered two days before, and that the appearing of one Indian in so bold a manner, was on purpose to ensnare them.

Wherefore, the Captain, calling his men together, proposed whether it was best to engage them or not; who boldly replied, "that as they came out on purpose to meet the enemy, they would rather trust Providence with their lives and die for their country, than return without seeing them."

Upon this, they proceeded and mortally wounded the Indian, who notwithstanding returned the fire, and wounded Capt. Lovewell in the belly. Upon which Mr. Wyman fired and killed him.

But their dismantling themselves at this juncture, proved an unhappy snare; for the enemy taking their baggage, knew their strength by the number of their packs, where they lay in ambush till they returned, and made the first shot; which our men answered with much bravery, and advancing within twice the length of their guns, slew nine.

The encounter was smart and desperate, and the victory seemed to be in our favor, till Capt. Lovewell [and] several more were slain and wounded, to the number of twelve: upon which our men were forced to retreat into a pond, between which and the enemy was a ridge of ground that proved a barrier unto us.

The engagement was continued ten hours, but although the shouts of the enemy were at first loud and terrible, yet after some time they became sensibly low and weak, and their appearance to lessen. Now, whether it was through want of ammunition,

or on account of those that were slain and wounded, that the enemy retreated, certain it is, they first drew off and left the ground. And although many of our men were much enfeebled by reason of their wounds, yet none of the enemy pursued them in their return.

Their number was uncertain, but by the advice which we afterwards received, they were seventy in the whole, whereof forty were said to be killed upon the spot, eighteen more died of their wounds, and that twelve only returned.

An unhappy instance at this time fell out respecting one of our men, who when the fight began, was so dreadfully terrified, that he ran away unto the fort, telling those who were there, that Capt. Lovewell was killed and most of his men; which put them in so great a consternation, that they all drew off, leaving a bag of bread and pork behind, in case any of their company might return and be in distress.

The whole that we lost in the engagement were fifteen, besides those that were wounded.

Eleazar Davis of Concord, was the last that got in, who first came to Berwick and then to Portsmouth, where he was carefully provided for, and had a skillful surgeon to attend him.

The report he gave me was, that after Capt. Lovewell was killed, and Lieut. Farwell and Mr. Robbins wounded, that Ensign Wyman took upon him the command of the shattered company, who behaved himself with great prudence and courage, by animating the men and telling them, "that the day would yet be their own, if their spirits did not flag!" which enlivened them anew, and caused them to fire so briskly, that several discharged between twenty and thirty times apiece.

He further added, that Lieut. Farwell, with Mr. Frye, their chaplain, Josiah Jones and himself, who were all wounded, marched towards the fort; but Jones steered another way, and after a long fatigue and hardship, got safe into Saco.

Mr. Frye, three days after, through the extremity of his wounds,

began to faint and languish, and died. He was a very worthy and promising young gentleman, the bud of whose youth was but just opening into a flower.

Mr. Jacob Fullam, who was an officer and an only son, distinguished himself with much bravery. One of the first that was killed was by his right hand; and when ready to encounter a second, it is said that he and his adversary fell at the very instant by each other's shot.

Mr. Farwell held out in his return till the eleventh day; during which time he had nothing to eat but water and a few roots which he chewed; and by this time the wounds through his body were so mortified, that the worms made a thorough passage. The same day, this Davis caught a fish which he broiled, and was greatly refreshed therewith; but the lieutenant was so much spent, that he could not taste a bit.

Davis being now alone, in a melancholy, desolate state, still made towards the fort, and next day came to it, where he found some pork and bread, by which he was enabled to return as before-mentioned.

Just as I had finished this account, I saw the historical memoirs of the ingenious Mr. Symmes, wherein I find two things remarkable, which I had no account of before: one was of Lieut. Robbins, who being sensible of his dying state, desired one of the company to charge his gun and leave it with him, being persuaded that the Indians, by the morning, would come and scalp him, but was desirous of killing one more before he died. The other was of Solomon Kies,* who being wounded in three places, lost so much blood as disabled him to stand any longer; but in the heat of the battle, calling to Mr. Wyman said, he was a dead man; however, said that if it was possible, he would endeavour to creep into some obscure hole, rather than be insulted by the bloody Indians: but by a strange providence, as he was creeping away, he saw a canoe in the pond, which he rolled himself into and by a favourable wind (without any assistance of his own) was driven so many miles on, that he got safe unto the fort.

* Keyes.

Now as soon as the report came of Capt. Lovewell's defeat, about fifty men from New Hampshire, well equipped, marched into Pequackett for the like end, but were not so happy as to find them: but Col. [Eleazer] Tyng, from Dunstable, with Capt. [John] White, who went afterwards buried twelve; where at a little distance they found three Indians, among whom was PAUGUS, a vile and bloody wretch.

Now the reason why no more of the enemy could be found, was because it is customary among them to conceal their dead, and bury them in some places of obscurity.

Give me leave here again to relate (as I did before respecting Col. Hilton) that six or eight days before Capt. Lovewell was defeated, we had a current report several miles round of his being so, with little or no variation both as to time and circumstances.

Our encountering the enemy at such a distance was so terrible and surprising, that they never found any body after. And though our actions in this war can bear no comparison with those of our British forces, (which have caused the world to wonder) yet not to mention the bravery of these worthies, who died in the bed of honour, and for the interest of their country would be a denying them the honour that is due unto their memory, and a burying them in oblivion.

The morning drum, the lance and ensign trail,
The robes of honor all in sable veil.

Mr. Wyman, who distinguished himself in such a signal manner, was at his return presented with a silver-hilted sword, and a captain's commission. Edward Lingfield was also made an ensign, and the general assembly (to shew a grateful acknowledgement to the soldiers, and a compassionate sympathy unto the widows and orphans,) ordered the sum of fifteen hundred pounds to be given them, under a certain regulation. And for a further encouragement of volunteers, ordered four shillings a day out of the public [treasury] to be paid every one that would enlist, besides the bounty of one hundred pounds a scalp.

Upon which a great many brave men under the command of Capt. [John] White, Capt. [Seth] Wyman, and others, went out, but the extremity of the heat prevented their marching far. Many of them sickened of the bloody flux and some died after their return: particularly Capt. White and Capt. Wyman, whose deaths were very much lamented.—THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF NEW ENGLAND WITH THE EASTERN INDIANS, or a NARRATIVE, etc [1703-1726], By Samuel Penhallow, Esqr., Boston, 1726, pp. 105, 108, 109-115.

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